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YARADEE;

A

PLEA FOR AFRICA,

IN FAMILIAR CONVERSATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF

SLAVERY AND COLONIZATION.

BY F. FREEMAN,
Rector of St. David's Church, Manayunk; author of "The Pastor's Plea for Sacred Psalmody," etc.

"HOMO SUM, HUMANI NIL A ME ALIENUM PUTO."—*Terence.*

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY J. WHETHAM,
No. 22 South Fourth street.

.....

1836.

Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1836, by J. WHETHAM, in the Office of the Clerk of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

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WILLIAM STAVELY, PRINTER,
No. 12 Pear Street.

DEDICATION.

TO

THE YOUNG MEN

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW-YORK COLONIZATION SOCIETIES,

WHO,

WHEN THE CAUSE OF COLONIZATION NEEDED MOST THEIR AID, AND IN THE TIME OF ITS GREATEST EMERGENCY, CAME NOBLY TO THE RESCUE, REVIVING THE DROOPING SPIRITS OF MANY TRUE FRIENDS OF AFRICA, FILLING THEIR HEARTS WITH GLADNESS, AND INFUSING NEW ZEAL THROUGH EVERY DEPARTMENT OF THE ENTERPRISE,

THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY THEIR FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

This little volume is thrown before the world without the usual array of names to sustain its claims to consideration. Its pretensions are not lofty: it refers to the importance of its subject, and with the solemn assurance that it has been written without any subserviency to party views, and without any unkind designs, it relies on the candour of the reader. The writer has followed the honest convictions of his own mind, and in connexion with facts that are indisputable, has expressed views which are the conscientious result of much reflection, personal observation, and a long residence and extensive acquaintance at the South. He may have formed an erroneous judgment in some things pertaining to the subject, for

"to err is human,"

and he lays no claim to infallibility; but he loves truth, and has truly aimed at impartiality. If, on the one hand, he is constrained to admit a liability to bias from "Northern prejudice," he can sincerely say that, on the other hand, his warm admiration of the Southern character and his affection for Southern friends unite an all-sufficient counteracting influence. He is fully aware that as these pages savour none

of party, they will not find favour with the ULTRAS of *any* opinion; and he conceives it more than possible that some of opposing sentiments may each suppose that the writer favours the views of the other: if, however, whilst some disapprove and condemn without cause, or are severe in criticism, the more candid approve, the writer will not complain. That these pages may do good, is the anxious wish of one who loves his country and sympathizes with his brethren in whatever part of the country, and also pities Africa and her oppressed children.

Particular acknowledgments of the aid derived in this work from the able remarks of several distinguished advocates for freedom and for human rights, are not given; for the task would be inconvenient and useless. If any such find their thoughts or language here employed, *they* will require no apology, satisfied to have aided by their writings this humble attempt at a plea for Africa, and will cordially unite with that of the writer, their earnest prayer that the claims of Africa may be better understood, and that we may all and each of us soon be able to say, without an exception or a blush,

"UBI LIBERTAS, IBI PATRIA."

CONVERSATIONS ON SLAVERY.

CONVERSATION I.

"Eternal nature! when thy giant hand
Had heaved the floods, and fixed the trembling land,
When life sprung startling at thy plastic call,
Endless her forms, and man the lord of all;
Say was that lordly form, inspired by thee,
To wear eternal chains, and bow the knee?"—*Campbell.*

'The subject of your discussion,' said Mr. L., as he folded the paper which had for some time absorbed his attention, and turned to his children, who in the opposite part of the parlour, whilst he was reading, had been as busily employed in discussing the merits of the Colonization and Anti-slavery Societies, 'is certainly one that commends itself to the heart of humanity in either sex and among all people. Your inquiries, last evening, I had not time then to answer fully; but I shall be happy now to give you all the information in relation to it, in my power.'

The little group which Mr. L. thus addressed, consisted of his eldest daughter, Caroline, a lovely and interesting girl of sixteen; Henry, a sprightly and intelligent boy, who was next to his sister Caroline in age, and their two younger brothers, and little sister Mary. Caroline and Henry were conducting the debate, but all seemed deeply interested in

the subject, and the eyes of all glistened with pleasure when Mr. L. proposed to gratify their wishes by assisting them to understand a subject which they found attended with at least some difficulty. A beloved and respected father is authority to which a dutiful and affectionate child loves to refer for information and advice, and to which, ordinarily, an appeal is made with great confidence.

Said Caroline, 'I thought from your remarks, last evening, my dear father, that you supposed the views of both Henry and myself to be somewhat incorrect; and I think nothing more probable than that mine are, for I confess I know not what to believe when I notice the conflicting opinions of so many good men in relation to this subject.'

'It need not surprise us,' rejoined Mr. L., 'to find prevailing some diversity of sentiment on a subject which, whether presented to the mind of patriot, philanthropist, or christian, involves considerations of so great and important interest. Nor will it be thought strange by me, if my dear children should find, when we come to converse freely and fully on the subject, that they are in some respects in error, not in matters of *opinion* only, but of fact. I therefore suggested to you, last evening, for I had not time to say more, that, possibly you might find yourself, in some things, labouring under mistake. The hint was given, you will recollect, Caroline, in consequence of a remark of yours in respect to the "*obtuseness*" of the *African* intellect.'

'But, Pa,' said Caroline, with some degree of surprise, and with apparent incredulity, 'I presume you do not think the remark *unjust?* The stupidity of Africans, I suppose to be proverbial.'

A point was now touched which it was evident had inte-

rested the feelings of the children in the previous conversation that had been held whilst Mr. L. was engaged in reading; for the smaller children drew closer around the table, and Caroline and Henry looked at each other and at their father, as if this was a matter respecting which *they* had not only agreed, but wondered that any one, and especially one whose opinion they so much respected, could entertain a thought different from theirs. The reply of Mr. L. engaged their feelings still more:

'It is true, my daughter, that in defiance of all records of antiquity, whether sacred or profane, and equally regardless of the evidence which our own times may furnish, the African race are often mentioned as if a distinct order of beings, a grade between man and brute; but—

'O Pa!' interrupted C., 'I have no such idea as that.'

'I know that *you* have not,' resumed Mr. L., 'but, my daughter, you may not be doing ample justice to the Africans, if you suppose them incapable of the finest sensibilities and sympathies of our nature, and of making great advances in all that requires strength or even brilliancy of intellect, as any other people.'

'Is it not strange, then, Pa,' Caroline inquired, 'that none of the African race have ever been distinguished for talent? I can easily conceive that Africans may have warm hearts; but it hardly seems to me that you are serious, Pa, when you speak of the capabilities of the African mind?'

'My daughter will be quite as incredulous then, perhaps, if told that this very people, now so degraded, and who have been as if by common consent so long and so much traduced, were for more than a thousand years, which is almost twenty times longer than the government under which we live has been

in existence, the most enlightened people on the face of the globe.'

'What, Pa, the *Africans?*'

'Yes, my daughter.'

'Why, Pa, you surprise me. You certainly do not mean to be understood that Africans have ever been distinguished for genius and intellectual attainments?'

'I do, my daughter, as strange as it may seem. Africa, unhappy Africa, is now degraded, and wherever are her sons and daughters, they are reproached and trampled under foot; but among her children stand immortalized in history a long list of names, as honourable, for aught I know, as any nation upon earth can produce.'

This, C. professed, was to her a new idea; and Henry who admitted that he had 'always thought the Africans a much injured people,' and who protested that he felt 'very little respect for those people who sometimes place the African on a level with *baboons*,' acknowledged 'that the idea of literature and science associated with an African name,' was as novel to him, as it was to Caroline.

'You do not mean, Pa,' Henry inquired, 'that any considerable number of Africans have discovered genius, or been distinguished for the cultivation of their minds?'

Caroline declared that she did 'know a single instance, unless it be that of Phillis Wheatley, who lived in Boston, sixty years ago, and wrote some very pretty poems.'

'You have both of you, my dear children,' said Mr. L., 'heard of CYPRIAN, ST. AUGUSTINE, and TERTULLIAN, those

Fathers of the Church; they were Africans. TERRENCE, who has been called

"As sweet a bard
As ever strung the lyre to song,"

was an African, and was once a slave. Quintillian says that Terrence was the most elegant and refined of all the comedians whose writings appeared on the Roman stage. You have also read of HANNO and HANNIBAL; they were among the valiant ones of Africa. It is said that the science of *Algebra* originated in Africa. And what is more, the time was when *Religion* shed her rays brilliantly upon that now benighted quarter of the globe, and the church was there prosperous. Ecclesiastical history tells us that in one council of the church in that country assembled on a question of great importance, two hundred and seventy-seven Bishops took their seats.'

'Henry now inquired of Caroline if she had ever thought of these as being Africans; confessing that he had not, although it now seemed to him strange that he never had. He thought that one would hardly suppose, looking at Africa as she now is, that such men were her sons. And Caroline, who also knew the fact that these were Africans, and could tell much of the ancient history of Africa, for she was well versed in history, both modern and ancient, but had been so long accustomed to identify the whole of Africa with the specimens she had seen, and to judge of the intellectual powers of all by the present degradation of the great portion of the Negro race in this country, that she had lost sight of so important facts, or at least was unaccustomed to think of them in this connexion, professed to be, 'quite ashamed' of herself.

'I really do not know,' she said, 'which most surprises

me, my own stupidity in relation to this subject, or the interesting views which open to my mind, by reason of the light which Pa has thrown upon it. But, Pa,' she continued, 'the whole continent of Africa is exceeding degraded now; do you not think that the African intellect, generally, has greatly deteriorated?'

'My daughter,' said Mr. L., 'human nature, in whatever situation, is wronged, if we judge of its capacity unfavourably, merely because we find that paganism and tyranny degrade those that fall under their influence.

'Perhaps, however, we shall pursue this whole subject to greater advantage if, taking time for its consideration and discussion, we call to our aid somewhat of system in arrangement of topics, and glance in the first place at the former history of Africa, and then at her condition in later times, noticing the wrongs that have been done her in the prosecution of the slave-trade, and the claims which Africa has upon our sympathy and justice for redress. So that, if you please, we will make this the general plan of our conversations; and as other topics of interest connected with the general subject, and growing out of it, naturally present themselves, they may also be noticed.

'I am pleased to see you interested in the welfare of Africa, and disposed to acquire correct views, and cherish right feelings in respect to so important a subject. My own sympathies are strongly enlisted in behalf of that much injured people. Their claims to our sympathy and humanity have been too long neglected.'

Both Caroline and Henry expressed much satisfaction with the arrangement proposed, which they assured Mr. L. was very grateful to their feelings, and expressed also a hope that by their attention and improvement, they might be able to give other proof that they appreciate his kindness.

Mr. L., on the other hand, intimated that he had great reason to rejoice that his children gave him so much evidence of their affection and respect, and so much promise in their dutiful, and upright, and ever amiable deportment, of future respectability and usefulness and happiness.

The conversation was now deferred to another time.

CONVERSATION II.

"God drave asunder, and assign'd their lot
To all the nations. Ample was the boon
He gave them, in its distribution fair
And equal; and he bade them dwell in peace."—*Cowper.*

'Well, my son, Caroline and I are waiting for you, that we may take up the subject of our last evening's conversation,' said Mr. L., after a little conversation with C. on various topics, while Henry seemed to be busily engaged in turning over the pages and examining the contents of a large folio which lay before him in the adjoining room.

'I am ready, Pa,' said H.; 'I was looking at what is said under the word "Africa," in the Encyclopedia Brittanica. Caroline and I have been examining one book after another a great part of the day, to satisfy ourselves from which of the sons of Noah the Africans are descended. The Old Testament has been Caroline's chief book of reference, whilst Calmet, and Brown, and others have been searched by me, I confess, without much benefit.'

Caroline was confident that their father could give them 'more information on the subject in one half hour,' than they might otherwise acquire 'by a whole month's study.'

Mr. L. remarked, 'I think we proposed, last evening, to

glance first at the history of the African race: the question you were agitating, then, in respect to their *origin*, is the first to be considered.

'On this point, we must refer to a period which profane history does not reach, but on which the word of God sheds its holy light, teaching us that Africa was planted by the descendants of HAM, the son of Noah.

'Ham, you will recollect, had four sons. Of these it is generally agreed, that Cush settled in Lower Egypt, and that from him were descended the ancient Æthiopians, known to us as the Nubians and Abyssinians, and embracing also those unknown nations inhabiting the equatorial regions of the African continent. Hence, "*Cush*" is the name applied in the Hebrew Bible to Æthiopia, embracing also in its frequent application Africa in general. Mizraim, the second son, peopled what was known to the ancients as the Thebais, Hermopolis, Memphis, and Delta of the Nile; but better known to us as parts of Upper and Lower Egypt, sometimes called in the Hebrew scriptures "the land of Ham," oftener "Mizraim." From him also were descended the inhabitants of Colchis, the ancestors of the warlike Philistines. Phut, another son, peopled Lybia and Mauritania, embracing the kingdom of Fez, the Deserts, Algiers, and other portions. From these, with such additions as emigration and frequent conquest have given, it is probable that all the nations of Africa, however divided, mixed, or dispersed, originally came.'

Henry suggested, 'You have not mentioned Canaan, telling us where he settled; I suppose, from the omission, that he settled in Asia, in the country called by his name?'

'Yes: Canaan, 'the youngest son of Ham, settled in "Canaan," so called after him, which is sometimes called

in scripture "Judah," and is also familiarly known by us as the "land of promise," and is also called "Palestine." A colony of Phœnicians, known in scripture as Canaanites, settled at Carthage, and *probably* spread themselves over other portions of Africa.'

Caroline here referred to an impression on the minds of many, that Africans generally are descended from *Canaan;* and that they are therefore doomed to perpetual slavery by the curse which Noah denounced against him, Genesis ix. 25—27. She thought she had heard advanced, or had somewhere read a sentiment of the kind.

Henry thought that they who suppose this, should have better reasons than they have for considering the Africans descended from Canaan, before they make such an application of the words of Noah.

He was requested by his father to read the passage: "*Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant.*"

'That,' observed Mr. L., 'is truly a remarkable prophecy. It is supposed, by Commentators, to have been recorded for the encouragement of the Israelites in warring with the Canaanites. The passage is attended with some difficulty in the minds of many, who, to obviate that difficulty, read the original, "Cursed be *Ham*, the *father* of Canaan; in which case you see that Africa would, beyond doubt, be affected by the denunciation. And if it have not this meaning, it may indeed be difficult to see the propriety of applying the curse to Africa at large.'

It was very natural that both Caroline and Henry, who had been giving their close attention to the instructions of Mr. L., should here ask, for they did not see, 'why any should change the reading of the translation so as to make the curse rest on Ham!' The difficulty, however, which some have found, or imagined, in the proper application of the denunciation, Mr. L. explained, referring them to the 24th verse of the same chapter, which verse immediately precedes the denunciation, and reads as follows:—"*And awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him.*"

Henry now saw, at once, the difficulty. 'His *younger son*,' H. exclaimed; 'Ham was Noah's second son, was he not, Pa?'

'Yes; it appears that Ham was the *second*, and not the *youngest*, as they suppose is implied by the term in the original translated *younger*. But the way in which Ham is introduced in connexion with the subject of Noah's intoxication and exposure, ("*And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told it to his two brethren without*,") has led some to infer that Ham was the youngest. At the same time, the frequent mention of Canaan, in connexion with the transaction, has suggested to the mind of others that Canaan was also criminal; and, by them, the expression, "knew what his *younger son* had done," is thought to refer to Canaan, the grandson. Canaan, they suppose, first discovered Noah's situation and told it to Ham.

'Be all this as it may, the history of this painful transaction, is full of serious instruction. You see a very striking contrast between the conduct of Ham in exposing to his brethren Noah's disgraceful fall, and their commendable de-

portment in doing what they could to conceal their father's infirmity and guilt. It is very evident that Ham could lay claim to none of the finer sensibilities of our nature if judged by this one act. His behaviour was exceeding unamiable and reprehensible; and he must have felt the rebuke to be deserved, when his own father was inspired to predict the consequent oppression and slavery of his posterity. And Canaan, if guilty, as has been supposed, was as severely rebuked, knowing that the curse would rest especially on that branch of the family which should descend from himself. The example of Shem and Japheth on the occasion, is worthy of all commendation; and a blessing belongs to those who imitate their amiable deportment, as a curse assuredly awaits all who copy in their spirit or conduct the pattern of Ham and Canaan.

'To your inquiry, Henry, whether the prediction of Noah has been evidently fulfilled in the descendants of Ham or Canaan, I would reply, that if we are to consider the curse as resting on the descendants of Ham *generally*, we may see its fulfilment in the wrongs which unhappy Africa has suffered in the oppression and servitude to which her children have so long been subjected. The history of Africa for a long period, has been for the most, one of deep suffering, ignominy, outrage and crime; a tale of sorrow broken by few intervals of happiness or of rest. It has been justly remarked of the whole continent that it "has lain, like some huge and passive victim, with darkness throned like an incubus upon its bosom, while every reptile of evil omen and hateful form has preyed undisturbed on its palsied extremities." At the North of Africa, "the conflicting interest and crooked policy of Europe permitting an organized system of piracy;" Egypt, from the days of Cambyses, a tributary province, and prey of the rapacious

Mameluke; in Abyssinia, the lamp of christian truth glimmering in its socket, and casting its flickering beams on a degraded and brutalized population; ignorance and barbarism consolidated and established by Mahometan influence in the South of Africa; at the Cape of Good Hope, human nature degraded and oppressed; and on the West of Africa, the slave factory and slave ship doing their accursed work and sweeping into distant and hopeless bondage unhappy thousands, Africa may truly be said to have had the very dregs of bitter affliction wrung out to her.'

'But what, Sir, if the denunciation of Noah is considered to be against Canaan and his posterity alone?'

'We shall still be at no loss to find in *their* history a remarkable fulfilment. The devoted nations which God destroyed before Israel, were descended from Canaan; and so were the Phoenicians, and the Carthagenians who were subjugated with dreadful destruction by the Greeks and Romans. The descendants of Canaan, as a general knowledge of the outlines of history will be sufficient to show, have been subjected to those of Shem and Japheth through many generations.'

'The whole posterity of Ham then appear to have been signally the victims of misfortune and oppression?'

'They certainly have, my son.'

'I have been running my eye over this Commentary, said C. on the passage of scripture to which we have referred; shall I read a sentence? Bishop Newton, you will see, Pa, takes it for granted that the curse denounced is upon Ham and all his descendants.'

'Read it, Caroline.'

Caroline reads the sentence she proposed: "The whole continent of Africa was peopled principally by the descendants of Ham; and for many ages have the better parts of that country lain under the dominion of the Romans, and then of the Saracens, and now of the Turks! In what wickedness, ignorance, barbarity, slavery, and misery, live most of the inhabitants!—and of the poor Negroes, how many hundreds, every year, are sold and bought, like beasts in the market, and conveyed from one quarter of the world to do the work of beasts in another!"

'But, Pa, even if the whole race of Africans are embraced in the curse, it does not therefore afford a vindication of slavery, or excuse for the cruel oppression of the African, does it?'

'No, Caroline: God has not, as I think, authorized us to enslave Africans, whatever authority may be claimed for Israel to drive out, and scatter and destroy the idolatrous Canaanites. The covetous desires and barbarous practices of those who seek to enrich themselves with the products of the sweat and blood of Africa's unhappy sons, and for this purpose tear them away from their native country, are without apology.

'Nor, whether the prediction and denunciation of Noah affect Canaan and his descendants alone, or Ham and his posterity generally, is it to be supposed that Africa is therefore either the lawful prey of violence and outrage, or that she is doomed to perpetual degradation and wrongs. Admitting that the prediction has been remarkably fulfilled, whether on Canaan, or Africa generally, and that however wicked the oppressor has been, he was a scourge in the hand of

God, fulfilling a just decree, and an important prediction involving the authenticity of a portion of the sacred volume; still, neither are the oppressors therefore innocent, nor are we to suppose that the oppressed are never to cease to be the victims of the denunciatory decree. The same Scriptures which, turning to Africa, appeal for one testimony of their truth to the fulfilment of the curse, are, we should remember, also to gather another argument from the fulfilment of the prediction which says—"*Æthiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.*" This prediction and promise must be fulfilled, nor can all creation stay the Almighty arm that will be uplifted to break the rod of her oppressors. Africa will be free. Her chains will fall.

'We will resume the subject this evening.'

CONVERSATION III.

"How are we astonished when we reflect that to the race of Negroes, at present our slaves, and the object of our extreme contempt, we owe our arts and sciences and even the very use of speech; and that in the midst of those nations who call themselves the friends of liberty and humanity, involuntary servitude is justified, while it is even a problem whether the understanding of Negroes be of the same species with that of white men."

Volney.

'Well, Pa, I suppose you remember the encouragement which you gave us that you would resume the interesting subject of Africa this evening?' said Caroline, as she saw her father lay aside the 'Evening News' and remove his spectacles from his eyes, the well known signal to the children that the hour of leisure was come. 'You closed the conversation, this morning, with reference to that important prediction of Scripture, "*Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God:*" are we to understand the Prophet who utters this, to have reference to Africa generally, or to the descendants of Cush, the grandson of Noah only?'

'The word *Æthiopia* in our English Bibles, it is true, is *Cush* in the original Hebrew; but the term seems to have a more extended application than the names of either of Ham's other sons. Cush, or Æthiopia, is a name by which Africans *in general* have been known. Whether it is because the race of Africans are mostly descendants of Cush,

which I think highly probable, that this term is more used, I am not able to determine; but such is the fact—Æthiopia is a term of extensive application.'

Henry having here inquired 'whether the Cushites, or Æthiopians, were always black,' Mr. L. replied,

'There can be no doubt that this people were black as long ago as the days of Jeremiah; and, if we are to credit Arabian testimonies, ages before. Jeremiah asks, "Can the Cushite (Æthiopian) change his skin?" Æthiopian is a name derived from two Greek words denoting the colour of the skin, (αιθω, to burn, and ωχ, the countenance—that is, *burnt-face*,) on account of the Cushites dark complexion.'

'What,' asked Henry, 'was the complexion of the ancient Egyptians; were they black also?'

'Heroditus, who, you know, is called the father of history, says, speaking of the ancient Colchos, since called Mingrelia, whose inhabitants were originally Egyptians, and colonized when Sesostris, king of Egypt, extended his conquests in the north,—"For my part, I believe the Colchi to be a colony of *Egyptians*, *because*, *like them*, they have *black skins* and *frizzled hair*."

'The inhabitants of Egypt, however, have long been a mixed community of Copts, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Turks, and Mamelukes. The Copts are supposed to be the representatives of the ancient Egyptians, and prove their origin by a striking resemblance to the paintings and sculptures of the ancient temples, and to the mummies. They are generally described as of a dusky complexion, dark and curled hair, thick lips, and scanty beard. In some features, they differ from the Negro race on the western coast of Africa, and in the interior. There are, indeed, slight shades of

variety which distinguish all the different tribes of Africa. It may not be necessary to enter on a particular description of each. However diversified may be the different tribes, there can be no doubt of their common origin as descendants of Ham, if we except those who have from time to time migrated from other portions of the earth; nor can there be any reasonable doubt that the African "Cush," or "Æthiopia," is the appropriate term or representative of the African race in general. Commentators differ, it is true, in respect to the countries which were originally included under the name 'Æthiopia;' Michaelis supposes it to include African Æthiopia and Southern Arabia; Gesenius says it is to be confined in its application to Africa alone. Rosenmüller contends that it embraces all countries whose inhabitants were black.

'There is, certainly, a striking accordance of complexion, language, manners, customs, &c. by which the inhabitants of the south and west of Africa, and all those who are known to be of Æthiopian extraction, are assimilated.'

'The complexion of Africans is caused by climate, is it not, Pa?'

'I suspect, Henry, that neither the African complexion, nor features, can be ascribed wholly to climate; but must be referred to native variety at first, perpetuated by intermarriages among the same race.'

'Just, I suppose, as a part of the same brood being white and a part black, each sort may be perpetuated, as naturalists tell us, by pairing together those of the same colour?' said Henry.

Caroline here remarked, that 'Mr. Bruce, the traveller,

says, he found in Africa a tradition which had been handed down from time immemorial, that Cush was their father, and that he actually dwelt there; but this was in Abyssinia. The tradition purports that, soon after the flood, Cush, the grandson of Noah, with his family, still terrified with the remembrance of the flood, and fearing a repetition of the same calamity, dared not remain in the plains, but travelled until he came to certain mountains in Abyssinia, and there settled. It says, further, that there Cush and his people, (with indescribable labour, requiring arts and instruments utterly unknown to *us*,) formed themselves commodious and wonderful habitations, composed of solid granite and marble, which dwellings are now entire, and will remain so till the consummation of all things; and that still avoiding the low countries, they advanced along the different ridges and chains of mountains across the whole continent of Africa.

'The more Henry and I examine into this subject, however, the more difficult it seems to determine satisfactorily and beyond the possibility of contradiction, which, if either, alone, of the sons of Ham, is entitled to the honour of being considered the principal progenitor of the African race. We have felt great curiosity, since our last conversation, to find from the books the arguments which go to show that the Africans, as the descendants of Canaan, are suffering their present degradation in fulfilment of the curse pronounced by Noah. Our examination only renders "darkness more visible." One author quotes from Procopius, if I recollect, who says, that when the Canaanites were driven from their country by the Israelites, they first retreated into Egypt, and gradually penetrated the continent of Africa, where they built many cities, and spread themselves over vast regions, till they reached the straits of Gibraltar. This would embrace the whole northern part of Africa, or the Barbary

States. This author says, that in the ancient city of Tongis, founded by them, were two great pillars of white stone, near a large fountain, inscribed with Phœnician characters, "We are people preserved by flight from the robber Jesus, (Joshua,) the son of Naver, who pursued us." Another author says, "in the time of Athanasius, the Africans continued to say that they were descended from the *Canaanites*, and when asked their origin, they answered '*Canani*.'"

'All this,' said Mr. L., 'is in corroboration of the position which *I* have taken. Admitting that the Canaanites mingled with other tribes in Egypt and all along the coast of the Mediterranean to the Strait of Gibraltar, still we must look for the peopling of the vast interior of Africa, and the west and south, from another source. It is almost a matter of demonstration, that the Cushites settled the greater part of Africa; for such is the geographical situation of the country, as you will see at once by the map, that the natives bordering the Mediterranean coast, are separated from the rest of the continent by an almost boundless and impassable wilderness—the Lybian desert and the great desert of Sahara, which, together, extend across the continent from the west of Egypt to the Atlantic ocean. The deserts are an ocean of sand, and in some places eight hundred miles in breadth. This, the only highway to the south and interior of Africa, was occupied by the Cushites, who had nothing to prevent them from spreading into all regions south now occupied by the Negro race.

'It makes but little difference, however, from which of the grandsons of Noah the natives of this, that, or the other part of Africa are descended. There is intellect among them all. They have had their distinguished men in every tribe, so far as we have known any thing concerning the different tribes,

and there is, and can be no impediment, no anathema of heaven, no forfeiture of their right as men among men, which can justify their being torn from the scenes of domestic life, from country and home, to spend their days in bondage. There is nothing, and can be nothing to annul and defeat the decree which sounds from the throne of the Eternal, "Æthiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."'

'I have no doubt, Pa, that the view which you have taken of the subject is correct. I think it is, on the whole, of very little importance whether most of the blood of Cush, or Canaan, of Mizraim, or Phut, runs in the veins of the present population of Africa. It seems that they have been higher than they now are in the scale of intellectual and moral attainments, and they may yet rise again for aught we know. I have the impression, Pa, that very little of the interior of Africa is at present known by the people of other countries?'

'Yes, my daughter, very little, comparatively. Bruce, Ledyard, Park, Riley, Bowdich, Denham, Clapperton, Laing, the Landers, and numerous adventurers have from time to time added to our store of information; but still comparatively little is known. To penetrate far into the heart of Africa has been found so difficult and arduous a performance, that it has been but very partially accomplished. Still, enough is known of Africa in respect to her ancient glory, and her present susceptibility of mental and moral impressions, to authorize the expectation that she may be raised to a high rank of moral worth, and of intellectual respectability.

'That continent which, notwithstanding her present degradation, is pronounced in history by common consent the birth-place and cradle of civilization and of the arts and sciences, cannot always, must not long be shrouded in darkness, and borne down by oppression. Seeing what Africa

has been, and what she may yet be, our sympathies must enkindle towards her. It cannot be otherwise than that they will.

'The Cushites, or Æthiopians, let me tell you, established the first regular police which history records. The first great city described in history was built by them. They surrounded it with walls, which, according to Rollin, were eighty-seven feet in thickness, three hundred and fifty feet in height, and four hundred and eighty furlongs in circumference. And even this stupendous work they shortly after eclipsed by another, of which Diodorus says, "Never did any city come up to the greatness and magnificence of this. Pyramids, obelisks, and mausolea still stand, as if in mockery of the very credulity of man, a memorial of that spirit of daring enterprise and skill which made Egypt the mother of science, and, for a time, the mistress of the world!"

'It is a fact well attested by history, that Æthiopians once bore sway not only in all Africa, but over almost all Asia. And it is said that even two continents could not afford field enough for the expansion of their energies. "They found their way into Europe, and made the settlement on the western coast of Spain, called from them 'Iberian Æthiopia.'" And, says a distinguished writer, "wherever they went, they were rewarded for their wisdom."

'That very light which long since blazed before the world in Greece and Rome, and which now rises to its noon-day splendour, under the auspices of Christianity, in Europe and America, be it remembered, my dear children, was kindled on the dark shores of Africa. When I think of these things, my spirit stirs within me, and I am almost impatient to see that light reflected back on Africa again—yes, the light of science combined with the glorious light of the gospel of Christ.'

Great reverses often in the history of nations.

CONVERSATION IV.

"Cruel as death, insatiate as the grave,
False as the winds that round his vessel blow,
Remorseless as the gulf that yawns below,
Is he who toils upon the wafting flood,
A Christian broker in the trade of blood."—*Montgomery.*

'I AM glad, Pa,' said Caroline to her father, who had given intimation of his disposition to take up the subject again after tea, and who had just risen from the table and seated himself in his chair by the fire, 'that we may again claim a little of your time, and tax your kindness to tell us more of Africa. I shall certainly think more of that much injured quarter of the globe for the time to come, and shall abhor slavery more than ever. What strange reverses there are in the history of man! We should never suppose from any thing that is seen in Africa now, that she was ever distinguished for any thing but ignorance, barbarism, and brutality.'

'There is much, my daughter, to be seen in Africa even *now*, of her former greatness. There is yet to be found honour, bravery, intellect, genius, learning, and rank. We have had proof of this from among those who, as victims of our cupidity, have been transported as slaves to this boasted land of *freedom*. Amongst them have been torn away, in

some instances, the Princes of Africa, and others of her distinguished ones. They came oppressed, their noble spirits broken down, the whole man subdued by the extinction of the last ray of hope, severed from all on earth most dear, and stepped upon these shores loaded with chains, and, it may be, bleeding with stripes; and they were held in this "land of the free," in cruel bondage—among a people of strange tongue—placed on a level with the most degraded of the miserable—tasked—and it is possible, for it is often asserted, *lashed* to quicken them in their heartless toil: but notwithstanding all, they have discovered still, under all these almost insupportable causes of depression, the lineaments of a noble spirit, a lofty mind! Although they came from a country where despotism and paganism exert all their influence to sink the human character, these men have held the pen of a ready scribe, and spoken with the tongue of the eloquent—writing the Arabic, and the language of their respective tribes, with facility and elegance, and uttering the same apparently with the fluency and ease of the distinguished among our own orators.'

Henry here mentioned that he had 'lately read an account of one such African, called Prince Moro. I saw it,' said he, 'in an old number of a file of the Episcopal, or Philadelphia Recorder. Annexed were some remarks of the late Rev. Dr. Bedell, of that city, who also certified to the truth of the article, he having known Prince and often conversed with him at the south.'

Mr. L. recollected the case of Prince Moro very well; and was able at once to refer to a number of the Christian Advocate, where was found recorded, on the authority of a gentleman of Fayetteville, North Carolina, at which place Prince resided, the following outlines of his history:

Prince Moro.

"About the year 1808, a South Carolina planter purchased a gang of slaves, among whom was a man of a slender frame and delicate constitution, who was not able to labour in the field, or had not the disposition to do so. His health failing, he was considered of no value, and disregarded. At length he strolled off, and wandering from plantation to plantation, reached Fayetteville, was taken up as a runaway, and put in jail, where he remained some time. As no one claimed him, and he appeared of no value, the jail was thrown open that he might run away; but he had no disposition to make his escape. The boys amused themselves with his good-natured, playful behaviour, and fitted up a temporary desk, made of a flour barrel, on which he wrote in a masterly hand, writing from right to left, in what was, to them, an unknown language. He was also noticed by some gentlemen of the place; but his keeper grew tired of so useless a charge, and he was publicly sold for his jail dues.

"His purchaser, a gentleman living about thirty miles from Fayetteville, finding him rather of a slender make, took him into his family as a house servant. Here he soon became a favourite of the inmates of the house. His good conduct in a short time put him in possession of all his master's stores, and he gradually acquired a knowledge of the English language. His master being a pious man, he was instructed in the principles of the christian religion, which he received with great pleasure; and he seemed to see beauties in the plan of the gospel, which had never appeared to him in the Koran; for he had been reared and instructed in the Mahomedan religion, and it was found that the scraps of writing from his pen were mostly passages from the Koran. It would seem that he was a PRINCE in his own country, which must have been far in the interior of Africa—perhaps Tom-

buctoo or its neighbourhood. At all events, his intercourse with the Arabs had enabled him to write and to speak their language with the most perfect ease.

"Some of the Africans pretend to say he was what they call a '*pray-God* to the king,' by which may be understood, a priest or learned man, who offers up prayers for the king of his nation, and is of his household. His dignified deportment showed him to be of a superior cast—his humility, that of a peaceful subject, not a despot. In his person he is well formed, of a middle size, small hands and feet, and erect in his deportment. His complexion and hair, as well as the form of the head, are distinctly of the African character. Some years since, he united himself to the Presbyterian church in Fayetteville, of which he continues an orderly and respectable member. A gentleman who felt a strong interest for the good *Prince Moro*, as he is called, sent to the British Bible Society, and procured for him an Arabic Bible; so that he now reads the Scriptures in his native language, and blesses Him who causes good to come out of evil, by making him a slave."

'Pa, has Prince since returned to his native land?'

'I suspect not, Caroline. His good master offered to send him to his native land, his home, and his friends; but he said, "No,—this is my home, and here are my friends, and here is my Bible; I enjoy all I want in this world. If I should return to my native land, the fortune of war might transport me to a country where I should be deprived of the greatest of all blessings, that of worshipping the true and living God, and his Son Jesus Christ, whom to worship and serve is eternal life." '

'Pa,' said Caroline, with eyes glistening in moisture, 'the

gentleman who bought Prince, and used him so kindly, and instructed him, must have felt amply rewarded and greatly happy to find this poor Mahomedan become an humble follower of the Lord Jesus? And it would seem almost as if Cowper had written expressly to suit the case of Prince, speaking the very feeling of his heart, and almost his very words, in those lines,

> "My dear deliverer out of hopeless night,
> Whose bounty bought me but to give me light;
> I was a bondman on my native plain,
> Sin forged, and ignorance made fast the chain;
> Thy lips have shed instruction as the dew,
> Taught me what path to shun, and what pursue;
> Farewell my former joys! I sigh no more
> For Africa's once loved, benighted shore;
> Serving a benefactor, I am free,
> At my best home, if not exiled from thee!"

Henry said, 'Dr. Bedell stated that Prince had been educated at Tombuctoo, and that he could write Arabic in a most beautiful manner. He composed a history of his own life, said Dr. B., which was sent to some of our literary institutions. Prince belonged to the *Foulah tribe*.'

'A more interesting case still,' said Mr. L., 'is that of the Moorish Prince, ABDUHL RAHAHMAN, who was sent out to Liberia, a few years since, by the American Colonization Society, but who died soon after his arrival in Africa. He was a slave in this country nearly forty years, and then obtained his freedom.

'He was born in the city of Tombuctoo, in 1762. His uncle was a king. His father was governor of Footah Jallo for a time, and then on the colony becoming independent, was king of Footah Jallo. Prince, after completing his education, entered his father's army, soon rose to distinction,

was appointed to the command of an army, and marched against the Hebohs, a tribe at the north of Footah Jallo. He entered their country to punish them for destroying vessels that came to the coast, and for preventing the trade. Having put the Hebohs to flight, and set their towns on fire, he commenced his retreat; the Hebohs rallied, however, and by a circuitous route and rapid marches, intercepted him, and ambushed themselves in a narrow defile of a mountain through which Prince was to pass. The consequence was, that Prince and a part of his army were made prisoners, and sold to the Mandingoes, and finally sold by them to a slave-ship, on the coast.

'Prince was brought to this country, and sold to a gentleman residing at Natchez, Mississippi. During the whole time of his bondage, Prince was never known to be intoxicated or guilty of a falsehood, or of a dishonest or mean action. He submitted to his fate without a murmur, and was an industrious and faithful servant, intelligent, modest, and obliging to all. His manners are represented as not only prepossessing, but dignified. Though born and raised in affluence, and now reduced to abject servitude, he bare his trials all with fortitude, and carried still

"A noble mein."

'The story of his life, which is eventful and interesting, we have from his own mouth, corroborated by a train of circumstances and events which, in their order and development, are truly remarkable.

'Dr. Cox, late a distinguished physician in Natchez, was, in his early days, a surgeon on board a ship which visited the coast of Africa. Dr. Cox, in one of his excursions on shore, got lost, and the ship sailed and left him. In his wanderings, Dr. C. came to Footah Jallo. The people saw

him, and ran and told the king, of the "white man." The king ordered Dr. C. to be brought to him. Prince accompanied the Dr. to his father's house, where he was hospitably treated, and during a long and painful sickness, was attended with the utmost kindness and humanity. After his recovery from sickness, Dr. C. was conveyed by his hospitable host and attendants, to the sea-shore, where he found a ship and returned to this country. Prince had been sixteen years a slave in this country when Dr. Cox removed to Natchez, and he and Prince met and recognised each other in the streets of that city.

'Prince's account of Dr. Cox's residence in his father's family, and of his interview with Dr. Cox on their first meeting in Natchez, is deeply affecting. Prince says, that when Dr. Cox was brought to his father, "he was asked where he was going? The Dr. said he did not know where to go—he was lost—the ship had left him—and he had a bad sore leg, which he had wounded in travelling. My father told him he had better go no further, but stay with him, and he would get a woman to cure his leg. It was soon cured. My father told him to stay as long as he chose. He remained six months. One day my father asked him if he wished to go to his own country. He said yes. My father said, what makes you desire to go back, you are treated well here? He answered, that his father and mother would be anxious when the vessel returned without him, thinking he might be dead. My father told him, 'whenever you wish to go, I will send a guard to accompany you to the ship.' Then fifteen men were sent with him by my father for a guard, and he gave the Doctor gold to pay his passage home. My father told the guard, that if a vessel was there, they must leave the Doctor, but must not go on board the ship; and if there was no vessel,

they must bring the Doctor back. They waited some time, and then found the same vessel in which he came, and he went on board."

'Prince continues, "After that, I was taken prisoner, and sent to Natchez. When I had been there sixteen years, Dr. Cox removed to Natchez, and one day I met him in the street. I said to a man who came with me from Africa, 'Sambo, that man rides like a white man I saw in my country. See, when he rides by; if he opens but one eye, that is the same man.' When he came up, hating to stop him without reason, I said, 'Master, do you want to buy some potatoes?' While he looked at the potatoes I knew him, but he did not know me. He said, 'Boy, where did you come from?' I said, 'from Col. F.'s.' He said 'Col. F. did not *raise* you?' Then he said, 'You came from Teembo?' I answered, 'yes.' He said, 'your name is Abduhl Rahahman?' Then springing from his horse he embraced me, and inquired how I came to this country. Then he said, 'Dash down your potatoes, and come to my house.' He rode quick, and called a negro-woman to take the potatoes from my head. Then he sent for Gov. W. to come and see me. When Gov. W. came, Dr. Cox said, 'I have been to this man's father's house, and they treated me as kindly as my own parents.' The next morning he tried to purchase me, but my master was unwilling to sell me. He offered large sums for me, but they were refused. Then he said to master, 'If you will not part with him, use him well.' After that, Dr. Cox died, and his son offered a great price for me."

'Prince's own account of his capture is also interesting. When returning from the country of the Hebohs, it seems, he was unapprehensive of any enemy being near, and, he says, "We dismounted and led our horses until we were half

way up the mountain. Then they fired upon us. We saw the smoke, we heard the guns, and saw the people drop down. I told every one to run until we reached the top of the hill, then to wait for each other until all came there, and we would fight them. They followed us, and we ran and fought. I saw that this would not do. I told every one to run who wished to do so. I said, 'I will not run for an *African*.' I got down from my horse, and set down. One came behind, and shot me in the shoulder. One came before and pointed his gun to shoot me, but seeing my clothes ornamented with gold, he cried out, 'That! the King.' When they came to me, I had a sword under me, but they did not see it. The first one that came, I sprang forward and killed. They knocked me down with a gun, and I fainted. They carried me to a pond of water, and dipped me in. After I came to myself, they bound me, and then pulled off my shoes and made me go on barefoot one hundred miles, and led my horse before me. As soon as my people got home, my father raised a troop, and came after me; and as soon as the Hebohs knew that he was coming, they carried me into the wilderness. My father came and burnt their country. They carried me to the Mandingo country, on the Gambia, and sold me, with fifty others, to an English ship. *They* took me to the Island of Dominica; after that, I was taken to New Orleans, then to Natchez."

'Prince was educated a Mohamedan, but was friendly disposed to the Christian religion, admiring the precepts of the Bible, but asserting that *Christians do not follow them!*

'After the liberation of Prince, whilst preparing for his return to Africa, he visited Hartford, Connecticut, and there found an aged African who had been a soldier in the army of his father! He, whose present name was Sterling, corroborated many particulars which I have now related concerning Prince.'

CONVERSATION V.

"Breathes there the man, with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned,
As home his footsteps he hath turned?"—*Scott.*

'Well, Henry, where is Caroline?—O, here she comes—Well, Caroline, you are not wearied, I hope, with the subject of Africa?'

'Pa, indeed I am not. I am always glad to see the hour return when we may resume the subject. The case of Prince Moro, which you mentioned to us, last evening, was truly interesting. It seems greatly desirable that he should have lived a few years after his return to his native land, although, at his time of life, it was hardly to be expected by him or his friends that he would live long in *any* part of the world.'

'Yes: it appeared desirable that he should live. The ways of Providence, however, although mysterious, are wise. It is said that Prince Moro, on his return to Africa, returned also to the Mahometan faith. If so, he might not have essentially aided the progress of the christianization of Africa, had his life been spared.'

'It seems to me, Pa, that the continent of Africa presents to the mind a singular combination of character, taking into view her whole history—that is, the little that we know of it?'

'It certainly does: she has been the very focus of literature and refinement, and also has afforded the very worst specimens of barbarism. We see there the greatest ignorance and debasement, and yet even now find evidence also of something like attention to learning, and hear from travellers of an interior where are magnificent cities, and the splendours of wealth and power.

'The history of Africa's better days, and the present remains of her former glory, encourage the hope that she may again recover her elevation, notwithstanding all that seems most discouraging. It has been said that to the burning history of Ancient Greece, more than to any other cause, Modern Greece is indebted for any spirit of liberty and improvement with which she may, of late years, have appeared inspired. Africa may yet find motive to action, in the thought of what she has been, whilst her past history may be the means of enlisting the sympathies of the world in her behalf. There is enough, certainly, in her history, to throw suspicion on the frequent charge of natural inferiority of her children.

'Douglass, in his work on Missions, says, "There are three agents which will soon be entwined with the issues of all human affairs, and are the very hinges on which the moral world will speedily turn. The three things in which the present age excels the ancients, are the Inductive Philosophy, Printing, and Universal Education." When these powers come to bear upon Africa, as soon they will with energy, we shall see—at least, the living will see in Africa a new world.'

'I wonder, Pa, what degree of credit we are to give to the accounts of travellers in Africa. If they have not indulged the imagination very freely, we all have a great deal to learn yet respecting Africa's present state?'

'I suspect my daughter has been reading a little more respecting this people of "*obtuse intellect*," since we turned our thoughts in these conversations to the subject?'

'I have. I have been looking over such works as I can find. Denham and Clapperton's Expedition I think is very interesting. I have also been looking into Bruce's Travels, and Riley and Adams.'

'In answer to your question—All recent discoveries seem to vindicate the veracity of Bruce, although, while he lived, it was his fate to be doubted, contradicted, and even ridiculed for a narrative which is now thought to be true. Riley and Adams are doubtless entitled to some credit; but may not, in all respects, be considered so good authority as Denham and Clapperton.

'Africa has been the scene of much fiction in times past; the unexplored region of all that is wonderful. The colour of her inhabitants—her vast and impenetrable deserts—and the fate of those who attempted to explore her interior, have served at the same time to inflame the curiosity and quicken the imagination. Hence, vague reports of paradisaical beauty and wonderful fertility, oases, in oceans of sand, the inaccessible abodes of the blest; and rumours of supernatural wonders seen by travellers more fortunate than others; all which are to be regarded as mere fiction. The accounts of later travellers have drawn upon the imagination less, and are to be considered as authentic.

'We have, without doubt, very imperfect ideas as yet, of

the amount of Africa's population, her resources, or her comparative mental energy. That whole continent will yet, and that soon, if I mistake not, become the fruitful source of amazing interest, and the scene of wonderful developements.'

'From all that can be gathered from the reports of travellers and from our own observation, do you not think, Pa, that we are justified in the inference that the Africans are naturally an extremely *indolent* race?'

'This accusation has been preferred against them, and probably with greater truth than usually pertains to assertions of those who would deprive the race of every good quality, mental or social: but even *this* charge is, I suspect, somewhat exaggerated.

'All people, of every nation and colour, are indolent, except as stimulated to labour, activity and enterprise by the spirit of property, utility, or pleasure.

"The best of men have ever lov'd repose."

'The Negroes of Senegal are remarkably *industrious*. Since the suppression of slavery there, their villages are rebuilt, and re-peopled, and there is the show of a commendable spirit of enterprise. Unmolested in their possessions and enjoyments, they have motive to industry. The Abbe Gregoire says of the inhabitants of Axiaim, on the Gold Coast, and also of those of the country of Boulam, that "they are industrious." "Those of the country of Jago," he adds, are "*celebrated* for an activity which enriches their country. Those of Cabomonte and of Fido are indefatigable cultivators; economical of their soil, they scarcely leave a foot-path to form a communication between

the different possessions. They reap one day, and the next day sow the earth."

'In many parts of Africa there is such luxuriant abundance of all that is necessary to the sustenance and comfort of its inhabitants, that indolence follows as a matter of course. Besides, they are often exposed to continual inroads from their enemies; and where nothing is certain, save their constant liability to surprise, capture, or death, the same evil follows—the people are indolent, for there is no incentive to effort. Many of those we see in our own country, whether natives of Africa, or descendants of Africans, have acquired indolent habits through the force of circumstances; but nothing, surely, is to be inferred from this fact to the disparagement of Africans more favourably situated.

"Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam
Premia si tollas?"

'It has sometimes been supposed that this portion of the human race are also more inclined to vicious habits generally, and unruly passions than others. If this were true, it might grow out of the circumstances in which they are placed. Ignorance and crime are nearly allied. And were there no other cause, habits of indolence would beget all other evils. The poet has shown some knowledge of human nature and also of sound philosophy, who said,

"O mortal man, who livest here by toil,
Do not complain of this thy hard estate:
That, like an emmet, thou must ever moil,
Is a sad sentence of an ancient date;
And, certes, there is for it reason great;
For, though sometimes it makes thee weep and wail,
And curse thy star, and early drudge and late;
Withouten that would come an heavier bale,
Loose life, unruly passions, and diseases pale."

'The Africans are not only generally considered constitutionally indolent, but *cowardly*, are they not, Pa?'

'The Portuguese historian, Borros, says that Negroes are, in his opinion, preferable to Swiss soldiers, whose reputation for bravery has generally stood high. In 1703, the blacks took arms for the defence of Guadaloupe, and "were more useful than all the rest of the French troops." At the same time, they bravely defended Martinico against the English. The honourable conduct of the Negroes at the siege of Savannah, and at the taking of Pensacola, is well known. During the Revolution, when incorporated with the French troops, they shared their danger and their glory.

'You probably recollect the mention of Henry Diaz, who is extolled in all the histories of Brazil: he was a Negro, and once a slave. He became colonel of a regiment of soldiers of his own colour. He was talented, sagacious, and brave. In battle, struggling against vast superiority of numbers, and perceiving that some of his soldiers were discouraged and began to give way, he thrust himself into their midst, and crying out, '*Are these the brave companions of Henry Diaz?*' his speech and example inspired them anew with courage, and the enemy, who supposed themselves victorious, were attacked with an impetuosity which forced them to retreat and finally to capitulate.

'In 1745, in the midst of his exploits, this brave man had his left hand wounded by a ball; and in order to spare the delay of dressing, he caused it to be amputated, saying that each *finger* of his *right* hand was worth a left hand in combat.'

'I suppose that in *other* moral qualities, they may not be inferior, naturally, to other people; but we have been so much accustomed to think disparagingly of Africans, that

the force of habit is still strong notwithstanding any light which is shed upon the understanding. I think, however, that I am fast rising above prejudice.'

'Africans are capable, I doubt not, of every noble trait of character; and those qualities which are the greatest ornament to humanity, are often exhibited by them to our admiration.

'You recollect the anecdote which Mr. Newton tells of a Negro whom he, one day, accused of imposture and injustice? The Negro, with wounded pride, replied, "Do you take me for a *white man?*"

'Proyart, in his history of Loango, asserts that if the Negroes who inhabit the coasts, and associate with white men, are inclined to fraud and other vices, those who have not had intercourse with the whites, are humane, obliging, and hospitable. Wadstrom, who boasts of their friendship, thinks their sensibility more mild and affecting than that of the whites. Captain Wilson, who lived among them, speaks highly of their constancy and friendship; they shed tears at his departure. Goldberry inveighs against the presumption with which Europeans despise and calumniate nations, improperly called savage, among whom we find men of probity, models of filial, conjugal and paternal affection, who know all the energies and refinements of virtue; among whom sentimental impressions are more deep, because they observe, more than we, the dictates of nature, and know how to sacrifice personal interests to the ties of friendship. Robin speaks of a slave of Martinico, who, having gained money sufficient to purchase his own freedom, purchased with it his mother's. Mungo Park says, the most horrible outrage that can be committed against a Negro, is to curse his father or his mother, or to speak of either with contempt. "Strike me," said a slave to his master, "but curse not my

mother!" Park speaks of a negress having lost her son, and finding consolation in the fact that he had never told a lie. Cassaux relates, that a Negro, seeing a white man abuse his father, said, "carry away the child of this monster, that it may not learn to imitate his conduct." Stedman says, "several Maroons" had been condemned to the gallows: one had the offer of his life, on condition of his becoming the executioner of his fellows; but he refused. The master ordered one of his negroes to perform the office. "Wait," said he, "until I get ready." He then went into the house, took a hatchet, and cut off his hand. Then, returning, he said to his master, "Order me to be the executioner of my comrade!"

'There is an interesting anecdote of Louis Desrouleaux, which I will here repeat. Desrouleaux was once a slave. His master, who was possessed of great riches, had been engaged in the slave-trade. He became poor and returned from France to St. Domingo, where his slave, Desrouleaux, had become free, and had himself acquired a fortune. Pinsum, the master, was scarcely recognized now, by those who professed for him great friendship when he was rich. Desrouleaux heard of his old master's misfortunes, hastened to find him, supplied him with honourable lodging and board, and then proposed to him that he would be most happy living in France where his feelings would not be mortified by the sight of ungrateful men. On Pinsum replying, 'I cannot find subsistence in France,' Desrouleaux asked, if an annual income of fifteen thousand francs would suffice? The Frenchman wept with joy—the Negro signed the contract, and the pension was regularly paid.

'Before we close this conversation, I must just refer to one specimen of the interior of Africa, their splendour, arts, industry, genius, regard for bravery, &c. which has been fur-

nished by Lieut. Laing, of the British Navy, who, under instructions from the Governor of Sierra Leone, went on a mission far into the interior. It relates to his visit to the Chief of the Solimas, King Yaradee.

'After visiting different chiefs by whom he was well received, Lieut. Laing came to a place called Koukundi, a village of farms belonging to the people of Melicouri. Here he remained during the night, and early in the morning entered the town itself, which was walled round, with port holes for musquetry, and was impregnable. The country in the neighbourhood was abundantly productive, and in a high state of cultivation; corn, barley, rice, cassada, and cotton growing in great profusion. Lt. L. says he passed several hundred acres of such cultivation.

'The next day, he proceeded to the camp which was about eight miles distant, north, and about three hours S. of Fouricaria. Immediately on his approach, the drums and other warlike instruments were in motion, and soon about 12,000 people were assembled in a large square, in the centre of the savannah on which an immense army was encamped, and Lt. L. communicated the object of his visit, which was to explain the footing on which the Colony of Sierra Leone wished to stand with the neighbouring nations.

'King Yaradee, who is one of the most warlike of the African monarchs, he found surrounded by his brave chiefs, under an ample tent, seated upon the skin of a lion. The king kindly invited Lt. L. to take a seat by his side. The following song, in their own language, was then sung by a minstrel:—

SONG.

"A stranger has come to Yaradee's camp
Whose bosom is soft and is fair;
He sits by the valiant Yaradee's side,
And none but the valiant sit there.

Solima Song.

Like the furious lion Yaradee comes
And hurls the terrors of war;
His enemies see him, and, panic-struck, flee
To the woods and the deserts afar.

By the side of this hero, so valiant and brave,
Sits the stranger whose skin is so fair;
He lives on the sea, where he wanders at will,
And he knows neither sorrow nor care.

Then look at the stranger before he departs;
Brave Yaradee, touch his soft hair;
The last note of my harp swells to Yaradee's praise,
While I gaze on the stranger so fair."

'The Solimas are great singers. The great deeds of the Solima chiefs, as well as the history of their wars, are handed down to posterity by means of Jelle or singing-men, in songs composed much after the manner of Ossian.'

'Those lines are very sweet,' said Henry, 'and the scene must have been very imposing.'

'The Africans are sweet singers,' said Caroline; 'but I acknowledge the time has been when I thought them capable of sound *only*—not of sentiment.'

CONVERSATION VI.

"From Guinea's coast pursue the lessening sail,
And catch the sounds that sadden every gale.
Tell, if thou canst, the sum of sorrows there;
Mark the fix'd gaze, the wild and phrenzied glare,
The racks of thought, and freezings of despair!
But pause not there—beyond the western wave,
Go, see the captive bartered as a slave!
Crush'd till his high, heroic spirit bleeds,
And from his nerveless frame indignantly recedes."—*Rogers.*

'I HAVE been thinking, Pa,' said Caroline, 'that it is a fact somewhat remarkable, that perhaps the first intimation which we find in ancient history of great learning among any people, is that which in Mosaic history points us to Africa. Moses, you know, it is said, was skilled in all the wisdom of the Egyptians!'

'You have, indeed, referred to a striking and decisive evidence of the greatness of African attainments at a very early period. We have conclusive and irresistible proof of their quondam greatness also in their works of art, many of which, such as pyramids, obelisks, and mausolea, still stand, as if in mockery of the very credulity of man, a memorial of their spirit and skill.

'Many will say, however, that the ancient Egyptians were a very "different race of beings from those tribes which

have supplied the world with slaves." Admit that they were in some respects different, the reference to them is sufficient to invalidate the sweeping declarations of many in regard to Africans universally; there are, however, proofs of former greatness and of present susceptibility of great improvement, and of high advances in genius and learning among other portions of the African race.

'Mr. Thompson, late Governor of Sierra Leone, in a letter to a distinguished gentleman of Massachusetts, published some time since, says, that he brought from Africa manuscripts sufficient to convince him that the interior of that great continent is even now in a vastly higher state of civilization and improvement than the residents on the coast have any idea of.'

'Has it not been said that a tribe has lately been discovered in the interior of Africa who are Christians?'

'Yes: missionaries of the London Church Missionary Society for Egypt and Abyssinia, found, a few years since, a tribe never before visited by Europeans, who appeared to have much in their faith that is scriptural, and whose practice was generally commendable; but, if I recollect, they are represented as having no knowledge of the Saviour. They believe in One God; and they teach that every person receives reward or punishment according to his life, in a future state. They have also a notion of the existence of an evil spirit, or devil. The history of the deluge is preserved in their traditions. Good angels they consider the guardians of good people. They are strict in the moral instruction of their children. But after all, they can hardly be entitled to be called Christians, so far as I have been able to form an opinion.'

Large cities.—Black has sometimes been regarded as the colour of beauty.

'You have spoken, Sir, of some large cities visited by Lt. Laing, or other travellers: do you suppose that such settlements are common in the interior?'

'All who have travelled at all in central Africa, have found there very populous and highly cultivated countries, in which were large cities, of 30,000 some, and 50,000 some, or more inhabitants. To these marts resort all the people in the neighbourhood, as in our own country to our larger cities and towns, and caravans as well as single merchants from the most remote regions.'

'I suppose, Pa, that the people in Africa have no idea that their colour is regarded by other nations as a blemish, and that they are therefore perfectly satisfied with themselves in that respect?'

'Indeed, they *are* well satisfied. Whiteness, when first beheld, is shocking to them; they attribute it to disease. A charitable old Negro woman who afforded Park a meal and a lodging, on the banks of the Niger, could not refrain, even in the midst of her kindness, from exclaiming, "*God preserve us from the* DEVIL!" as she looked upon him. And it is said to have been a common subject of regret among the girls at Bornon, that Denham and Clapperton were *white*.'

'Oh! Pa, you are jesting, I know.'

'Indeed, Caroline, I am not.'

'It may be that it has been *said* as you represent, but'—

Henry here remarked that 'Heroditus has said that "the *Æthiopians excel all other nations in personal beauty*." If *black* be a mark of beauty, Caroline,' he mischievously remarked, 'you would stand but little chance of making

conquest by your colour, of an ebony Æthiop, or of making the best market of yourself in Africa.'

'Indeed, Henry, I think I should not repine.'

'But to be serious,' continued Mr. L., 'when the blacks have taken precedence of the whites in civilization, science, and political power, no prejudice has appeared to exist against the colour. The black Prince, Memnon, who served among the Trojan auxiliaries at the siege of Troy, is constantly spoken of, by the Greek and Latin authors, as a person of extraordinary beauty. He is qualified as the Son of Aurora, or the Morning. The prejudice against the *colour* of the blacks, many contend (and I shall not undertake to controvert their argument, although I freely acknowledge my own views would lead me to treat with great disapprobation any plea for amalgamation,) has grown out of the relative condition of the two races.'

Caroline here inquired, 'Have not the Africans many slaves among themselves, in Africa? If I recollect, Mr. Clapperton says the domestic slaves are numerous.'

'There is a great deal of domestic slavery in different parts of Africa; but it has been asserted that, for the most part, slavery, except as slaves are taken to be sold to the slave-merchants on the coast, is a different thing in Africa from what it is among us. I know not that it is said that the slaves are treated better than with us; but it is thought that they are there viewed more as members of the family to which they are attached than as slaves. Still, I am inclined to think that this is a gloss which a comparison would not justify.'

Henry suggested, at this point, that slavery is bad enough, in any country, and under any circumstances. 'Nothing,'

said he, 'I am sure, can make amends for the loss of liberty —nothing, I mean, that man can offer.'

Mr. L. had no doubt there has been many an instance of that which Montgomery has so finely expressed,

> "The broken heart which kindness never heals—
> The home-sick passion which the Negro feels
> When toiling, fainting, in a land of canes,
> His spirit wanders to his native plains,
> And 'neath the shade of his paternal trees,
> His little lonely dwelling there he sees,
> The home of comfort."

'I have seen it stated,' said Henry, 'that in some parts of Africa they hunt for slaves for transportation just as they would hunt for wild beasts.'

'It is said that in Bornon, for instance,' replied Mr. L., 'where the slave trade is carried on to an immense extent and is the principal traffic, the mode in which slaves are procured is very summary: A caravan of Moorish merchants arrives, and offers goods for slaves. If there are no slaves on hand they must be procured. The Sultan immediately collects his forces, marches into the country of some harmless tribe, burns their villages, destroys their fields and flocks, massacres the infirm and old, and returns with as many able bodied prisoners as he can seize. Sometimes 3,000 have been obtained in a single "ghrazie," as these expeditions are called. The way in which slaves are obtained is somewhat different in different parts of Africa, and yet is very similar in all.'

The family all exclaimed, 'How horrible!'

Mr. L. resumed, 'The horrors of the slave-trade in Af-

rica are great. Distressing, however, as is the situation of the captive when first

"before his eyes
The terrors of captivity arise,"

his sufferings are greater in what is called the "middle passage"—that is, during the voyage, if he be shipped to a distant land. And if they be carried, to supply the northern market, across the great Desert, their sufferings are represented as even greater.

'Driven by Arab merchants to the North of Africa, through the deep and burning sands of Sahara, scantily supplied with water, they sink in great numbers under their sufferings. Denham and his companions saw, in their journeyings, melancholy proofs of the horrors attending this "middle passage" over land. They at one time halted near a well around which were lying more than one hundred human skeletons, some of them with the skin still remaining upon the bones. "They were *only blacks*," said the Arabs when they observed the horror of the travellers, and then began to knock about the limbs and skulls with the butt-ends of their guns. Denham says they counted in another place one hundred and seven skeletons. In other instances, they passed sixty or eighty skeletons a day scattered along over that dreary waste! About the walls of El-Hamar, they saw many, and among the rest, the skeletons of two young females, faithful friends it would seem even to death, for these skeletons lay with their fleshless arms still clasped around each other.'

Caroline felt a little faint, but after a few moments' interruption, begged her father to proceed. She had no doubt it was owing to the heat of the room. Mr. L., with some hesitancy, continued:

Sufferings of the captured in the middle passage.

'While,' says Denham, 'while I was dozing on my horse, about noon, overcome by the heat of the sun, I was suddenly awakened by a crashing under my feet, and found that my steed had stepped on the perfect skeletons of two human beings, cracking their brittle bones under his feet, and by one trip of his foot separating a skull from the trunk, it rolled on like a ball before him.'

'O horrid barbarity! Poor Africa!' exclaimed Caroline; 'what has she suffered! I do not wonder that that wretched continent has been represented as a widow, sitting beneath her own palm-trees, clothed in sackcloth, and weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted!'

'And are they exposed to much suffering on the western coast, when taken to be sent on ship-board, to be conveyed to other lands?' asked Henry.

'Yes, their sufferings then are great, and frequently insupportable. At the lowest estimate, it is said that an average of one hundred thousand of the African race have been seized every year, and borne across the Atlantic to supply the West Indies and the Brazilian market alone. The wars attending the capture of such a multitude, make Africa, of course, a field of blood, and a scene of great affliction.'

'And then,' said Caroline, 'the separation of relatives and friends, occasioned by the forced removal of the captured, I have no doubt breaks a thousand hearts; O it is shocking to humanity! And how painful is it to think that much of the distress which Africa has endured, has been occasioned, perhaps, by our own countrymen; or, at least, has been caused by inducements which in our own country, this boasted land of liberty, have been held out to unprincipled men to procure slaves and bring them hither! It appears to me,

Pa, that slavery in a country like ours, more than any other, is dark disgrace.'

'Yes, my daughter, it is indeed a deep stain upon our honour—a dark blot upon our country's glory. It is such a stain as no christian nation should tolerate. Much less should the stain rest upon a people distinguished above all the nations of the earth for their civil and religious blessings, and whose very DECLARATION is published to the *world*, boldly and solemnly asserting that ☞ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL; ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH THE UNALIENABLE RIGHTS OF LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.'

'I recollect, sir,' said Henry, 'some lines which forcibly illustrate the sentiment you express:

"ALL ARE BORN FREE; AND ALL WITH EQUAL RIGHTS.
So speaks the *Charter* of a Nation, proud
Of her unequalled *liberties* and laws;
While, in that nation, shameful to relate,
One man in five is born and dies A SLAVE."

'Can you repeat further? If I recollect, what follows is equally applicable, elegant, and impressive.'

'I can imperfectly. I may perhaps do injustice to the author by some omissions or alterations, as I cannot promise that I shall give the precise original in totidem verbis:

"Is this *my* country? this that happy land,
The wonder and the envy of the world?
O for a mantle to conceal her shame!
But why? when patriotism cannot hide
The ruin which her guilt will surely bring
If unrepented? for unless the God
Who poured his plagues on Egypt till she let
The oppress'd go free, and often pours his wrath

An evil full of danger.

In earthquakes and tornadoes on the isles
Of Western India, laying waste their fields,
Dashing their mercenary ships ashore,
Tossing the isles themselves like floating wrecks,
And burying towns alive in one wide grave,
No sooner ope'd but closed, let judgment pass
For once untasted till the general doom,
Can it go well with us while we retain
This cursed thing?

"Will not some daring spirit, born to thoughts
Above his beast-like state, find out the truth
That Africans are "*men*," and catching fire
From freedom's altar raised before his eyes
With incense burning sweet, in others light
A kindred flame in secret, till a train
Kindled at once, deal death on every side?

"Cease, then, COLUMBIA—for thy safety, cease,
And for thine honour to proclaim the praise
Of thy fair shores of *liberty and joy*,
While thrice seven hundred thousand wretched slaves
Are held in thine own land!"

'Very good, my son, and very appropriate. We are indeed a peculiar people. As a nation we have hitherto enjoyed unexampled prosperity. Our success, I doubt not, is to be attributed, under God, in a great measure to the fact that our institutions, since the Revolution, are based on the principle of *moral rectitude* and the *equal rights of man*. But our prosperity will wane—our happiness will be of short duration, unless our practice be a consistent comment on our national declarations and professions. If we abide by our own professed declarations and principles, we may prosper still. But that moral *debt* which our ancestors contracted when being presented with the forbidden fruit, they took and ate, must be paid by us, their *heirs*, (I mean the debt we owe to Africa,) or I am satisfied that our country will yet feel the severe scourge of heaven! Slavery must cease, and

we must do what we can to redress the wrongs we have done, *or our country is ruined!*

'We may have able statesmen, a faithful administration, the physical strength and resources of our country may be our boast, and we may pride ourselves on the valour of our armies and the gallantry of our navy; but without a sacred regard to the immutable principles of justice, all will be of no avail. We have before us the experience of ages—the philosophy of many an experiment and of many a failure, in the history of nations; and we must profit by the instructions of the past, if we would be successful and happy for any length of time: otherwise the period will arrive, when, ere we are aware, this giant republic will be broken, and scattered, and peeled.

'Happy should I be to see in my beloved country a more general regard to that sacred maxim, "RIGHTEOUSNESS EXALTETH A NATION." '

'I hope and trust, Pa,' said Caroline, 'that the kind Providence that has always watched over us for good, will turn the minds of this people to a right course, and thus avert from us so dreadful a calamity.'

'I hope so.'

'You do not think, Pa, that danger is near?'

'I know not at what moment the great Avenger may permit the volcano to burst; but this we all know, that already we have heard its muttering, nor has it been without some transient irruptions. The Southampton tragedy cannot soon be forgotten! The elements of destruction are indeed among us. Two millions of slaves, and three hundred thousand free blacks, with their rapid increase, in connexion with the

diversity of feeling and sentiment which exists among ourselves, and the lack of sympathy for our situation among other nations, are, altogether, a tremendous evil.

'We live, too, in a peculiar age. Great changes are taking place in the earth. The ball of revolution is moved.

> The age finds all within the vortex drawn,
> The strength of current far too great to stem
> By feigned indifference.

Something must be done; and the considerate feel and acknowledge the fact. What can be done, or how an end "most devoutly to be wished," shall be effected, is an important, serious, solemn question.'

'I should think, Pa, that there can be but one opinion as to the expediency of attending to the subject, and doing something effectual to remove the evil entirely from among us!'

'And I,' said Henry, 'should think there could be, amongst the discerning, but one opinion in respect to the advantages of colonization.'

'In respect to the means most proper to be employed,' said Mr. L., 'there is a difference of opinion; but reflecting men generally, as I said before, are beginning to feel, more than ever, that *something* must be done. No one who looks at the subject with a candid eye can, it seems to me, doubt either the expediency of encouraging the colonization of our coloured population in Africa, or the desirableness of the abolishment of slavery in our land. Connected with this subject are great questions, involving great considerations, requiring the wisdom which is from above, and calling for a spirit of prayer, meekness, and great forbearance. Already are there thrown around the subject difficulties and embarrassments which ought to have been avoided, or rather I

would say, ought never to have been created. A wrong spirit and unwise measures will only increase the evil. So serious and alarming is it now, that very many are actually afraid to look the evil full in the face. *What shall be done?* is a question which they dare not meet, although all the while they fear that the subject will force itself upon us in a way that shall be most painful. I confess, for my own part, that I have long apprehended that the issue will at length come in a shape that shall demand tears of anguish for rivers of blood.'

Self-preservation, a law of nature.—A change is taking place.

CONVERSATION VII.

"We are required to devise some means whereby the political evil which we have inherited may be corrected, and a foul, unseemly stain washed from our national escutcheon. Duty to the coloured population of our country calls loudly for it—duty to ourselves demands it."—*Gov. Vroom.*

'I HAVE been thinking much, through the day,' said Caroline, 'of our last conversation. Self-preservation, it is sometimes asserted as a maxim incontrovertible, is the first law of nature. It is a law, however, which appears to me to be very little regarded, or there could not, I think, be such apathy in respect to the dangers that surround us. Self-interest, I should think would furnish to the Southern people most pressing motives to immediate and vigourous action in freeing our land from the very last remnant of slavery.'

'The public are awakening to the importance of the subject,' replied Mr. L., 'and begin to feel more than formerly the urgency of the case. Every passing month, the cause of Africa's unhappy children, is finding new and ardent friends who feel that the duty which we owe ourselves, our country, and the world, can only be fulfilled by listening to the cries of the oppressed, and loosing every band that chafes the limbs or the souls of our coloured brethren. A mighty change has taken place, and is still increasing. In this sub-

ject the non-slave-holding States as well as the South have a deep interest.'

'In case of insurrection among the slaves of the South, I do not see that *we* should be in any danger, Pa?'

'We might not be in any *personal* danger, my son; but is not the South as well as the North our country?—are not the noble-hearted Southrons our brethren?—and are they not every way worthy of our warm affection and respect? They are indeed part of ourselves. If personal danger were the only cause of alarm, we surely could not be indifferent spectators of a scene of revolt and its dreadful consequences. Our interests are interwoven, and bound together by many ties. Our intimate friends and connexions are scattered over the Union, and ourselves, or our children *may* be on the very centre of the crater, when the volcano shall burst.

'There are other considerations, however, which should not be viewed with indifference. Such is the genius of our government, that if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it. Frequent collisions of feeling, clashing of sentiment, and contentions for opposite interests are painfully adapted to sunder the strongest bonds of brotherhood. The existence of slavery in our land, has more than once been the fertile theme of political strife in our national councils, the rallying point of contending parties. It has already engendered much bad feeling, and what will be its final result is the subject of much anxious speculation and the cause of unpleasant forebodings. To be united, and prosperous, and happy, for any length of time, we must be one in sentiment, one in action, one in character.'

'The *tariff* question did much to provoke unpleasant feeling between the different parts of the Union, did it not, Pa?'

'Tariff and anti-tariff views and the like, have had less to do in producing the commotions which have convulsed our country at different times, than many are aware of. It was an evil hour when slavery was introduced to this otherwise favoured land. Its unhappy influence has been gradually developed until its curse has become tremendous. Admit that we feel its *direct* influence but little in this part of our country; still, it has an influence indirect, which more than all things else contributes to mar and jeopard the peace, the welfare, and the permanency of the Union.

'The fact is, SLAVERY is the bane and the ruin of one portion of our land, and the advantage of FREE LABOUR and industry has exalted the other portion. The natural consequence is, a morbid sensibility and ever wakeful jealousy on the part of the depressed; and an increasing desire for greater gain and aggrandisement, on the part of the other. Yes, it is *slavery* that sinks the South! Says one of her own distinguished citizens, "See the wide-spreading ruin which the avarice of our ancestral government has produced, as witnessed in a sparse population of freemen, deserted habitations, fields without culture; and, strange to tell, even the wolf, driven back long since by the approach of man, now returns, after the lapse of an hundred years, to howl over the desolations of slavery." Their lands worn out, in a great measure, under the ungrateful cultivation of slaves; the population of freemen declining, or wending their westward way; and those interests neglected which would have been cultivated by a free, white, and working population, the South feels but too sensibly every effort which other sections make to sustain themselves, as if oppressive of her—whilst, all the time, the evil, the *root* of the evil, is SLAVERY! The South has injured, and is yet crushing herself, by cherishing an evil which will soon be

found to be more than can be borne. She cannot rise whilst the evil remains. She *feels* it; and the other States *see* it to be so. It is a subject, however, that can hardly be discussed at all in its various bearings without eliciting sectional jealousy, or party severity, and enkindling mutual animosities, although it is an evil that convulses and stains the entire length and breadth of our land!'

'You consider slave labour then as unprofitable, Pa?'

'There are individual exceptions, undoubtedly, in which the slave dedicates himself to his master with the most zealous and generous devotion; but generally that labour we should suppose most profitable, in which the labourer knows that he will derive the profits of his industry; his employment depending on his diligence, and his reward upon his assiduity. *There* is every motive to excite to exertion, and to animate to perseverance. Therefore, where the choice exists to employ, at an equal hire, free, or slave labour, the former will be decidedly preferred, because it is regarded as more capable, more diligent, more faithful, more worthy of confidence. Where capital is unable to command the free labour that is required, as has been sometimes the case in the first settlement of some parts of our country, it may there purchase that of slaves.'

'Then slavery was introduced into this country on account of the difficulty of procuring free labour in the first settlement of the country, was it, Sir?'

'Yes; the first guilt of the introduction of slavery into this country is chargeable upon England; and the circumstances are such as show conclusively that where free labour can be had, avarice, which knows the way to wealth even better than philosophy itself, prefers free labour. When

England introduced slavery into her American Colonies and Islands, she had as much free labour at home as the landholders wanted to employ; and it has been on this account, and this only, that the poet was enabled to say,

> "Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
> Receive our air, that moment they are free;
> They touch our country, and their schackles fall."

The fact is, the respiration could go on well enough in those parts of her dominions where free labour was *not to be obtained.* In America was a widely-extended territory, with a soil and climate adapted to the raising of the most profitable articles of commerce. In order to render the colonies an immediate and productive source of revenue, which was the settled policy of England, and on which she placed great reliance, (monopolizing at the same time all her colonial commerce, and taking care to increase that commerce as much as possible by increasing the productions of the soil,) an immediate supply of labour was necessary. As an expedient to provide for her colonial wants, she commenced filling her colonies with African slaves! She would not tolerate slavery at home, and yet would provide for, and locate the evil among her distant children, who, consulting their immediate profit, and regardless of future consequences, at length fell in with the slave-policy of the mother country.

'The same causes which induced England to prohibit slavery at home, and yet pour slaves into her colonies, it may be remarked, led Spain and France and all the European powers, who were supplied with free labour at home, but had infant colonies in the West Indies or America, to do the same. Instead of waiting for the New World to populate with labourers by the emigration of free men, and the

natural increase of population, slavery was resorted to as a more *speedy* method of introducing *labour*. It was introduced to the colonies only, because free labour was not to be had there; and not into the mother country because slave labour cannot compete with the free where the employer has his choice.'

'How inappropriate then the praise which Cowper bestows on his native country, in the lines that follow the quotation which you just now made:

> "That's noble, and bespeaks a nation proud
> And jealous of the blessing."

'If slave labour be so unprofitable, and if the naturally rich lands of the South become, in process of time, barren under its culture, it is not strange that slavery should have retired first from the Northern and Eastern States.'

'Slavery is a tax that poor soils and cold climates like ours cannot endure. The cost of cultivating an unproductive soil with slaves, is more than the productions of the soil would bring in return.'

'Yet cold countries and comparatively unproductive soils are cultivated by free labour to advantage?'

'Yes; Switzerland, Scotland, and New England, are striking examples of it. The freedom and character of the labouring population, make these countries populous and wealthy, although nature has by no means been liberal in her gifts to either of them. Introduce there a system of slave labour, and pauperism and famine would be the inevitable consequence. It has been well remarked that "free and slave labour move in opposite directions from the same

point of departure; and, while one is regularly diminishing the capacity of the earth for production, the other is constantly nourishing and invigorating its powers."

'It is an opinion of no recent date, but ancient as slavery itself, that the labour of bondmen is gradually destructive of the soil to which it is applied.'

'I can appreciate now', said Caroline, 'a remark of Miss Harriet Martineau—she says, "The slave system inflicts an incalculable amount of human suffering for the sake of *a wholesale waste of labour and capital.*"

'I have been told that the slave population of the South is a great check upon the enjoyments of life, and a source of constant apprehension and of very frequent alarm. It seems to me that if I lived at the South, I should have the bloody scenes of St. Domingo and the Southampton massacre haunting my fears continually.'

'I cannot say that I ever felt alarmed on account of personal exposure at the South, although I resided there, many years, in the midst of a slave population chiefly. I confess, however, I *now* conceive the danger greatly increased. Your mother was once obliged, in company with a multitude of other ladies and their children, to flee, in the night, several miles into the country, at a time of threatened insurrection. In some parts of the Southern States such causes of fear and momentary distress, are not unfrequent.'

'I suppose, Pa, that the circumstances of the Southampton insurrection are recollected by you: will you give us some account of it. I have forgot its detail, although I retain the impression which it made. The leader of that insurrection was a Negro, was he not?'

'It would neither be pleasant nor profitable to dwell on

that most melancholy catastrophe. Suffice it to say, it was planned by a Negro, by the name of Turner. He communicated his plans to a few kindred spirits, who with ready minds and hands engaged in the work of preparation. The minds of others were gradually prepared for the intended event. When the work of destruction commenced, they armed themselves with hatchets and axes. Turner ascended by a ladder to the upper part of his master's house in the silence of night, and passing down stairs, opened the outer doors of the house to his followers, and told them the work was now open to them, Turner himself giving the first blow with a hatchet both to his master and mistress as they lay asleep in bed. Turner, in his confession, said that his "master sprung from the bed and called his wife, but it was the last word; another blow laid him and his wife both dead." The murder of the family, five in number, was the work of a moment. "Not one of them awoke," said Turner. He continued, "There was a little infant sleeping in a cradle, that was forgotten until we had left the house and gone some distance, when Harry and Will (two accomplices) returned and killed it. We got here four guns and several old muskets, with a pound or two of powder." They then proceeded to the next house, a mile distant. They there shot a man whom they met in the yard. It was now day-light. The family in the house took the alarm, and fastened the door. With one stroke of an axe the door was broken in. They entered, and finding two ladies, they killed them, one with a single blow of an axe, the other, Turner said, he "took by the hand and with a sword struck her several blows over the head, but the sword being dull, another Negro despatched her with an axe." At another house, after having murdered all the family but the lady and her daughter, Turner said that one of his associates "pulled the lady out

of the house, and on the steps severed her head from her body with a broadaxe." "Miss ——," he continues, "when I discovered her, had concealed herself in the corner formed by the projection of the cellar-cap from the house. On my approach she fled, but was soon overtaken, and, after repeated blows with the sword, I killed her by a blow on the head with a fence-rail."

'In this way they proceeded until more than sixty persons, men, women, and children, fell a sacrifice to the vengeance of their slaves. I cannot go through with a rehearsal of all the circumstances. I have not a heart for it. What has been related, nearly in the language of Turner himself, will serve to give one some faint idea of the horrors of a Negro insurrection, and of the dangers against which the utmost vigilance is necessary to guard the lives of multitudes.

'I have here a letter from a gentleman in Georgia, which will perhaps enable you to form a more vivid idea of the sensation produced in every southern town, when an insurrection is apprehended. The letter was written some time since, not to myself, but to Mr. ———. Will you read it, Henry?'

[*Reads.*] "The papers from this state have no doubt apprised you of the excitement which prevails here about our black population. We were all thrown into great fright and confusion, a few nights since, by a report that the negroes on a plantation about five miles distant had risen, and were marching direct for the town. It was 11 o'clock at night, when the whole population were in their beds. You cannot conceive, no matter how active your imagination may be, the scene that ensued. In an hour, every woman and child in the place was transported to the largest building in the town for safety, and a large patrol placed in front to pro-

tect them. I had retired when the alarm was given, but we immediately got up and dressed, and were soon after joined by Mrs. ——, with her infant, pale as marble. I closed the door, and urged them to be quiet, and remain in the house; but it was useless—go they would—others were gone, and they would not stay to be murdered. Finding reasoning lost, I opened the door and out we sallied—your humble servant with a half naked babe in his arms, and two women by his side, scudding with as much speed as a Baltimore schooner, under a full press of canvass. * * We staid all night. * * * The alarm has subsided, but I do not think we are safe one hour. The very elements of destruction are around us, mingling in all our relations, and we know not at what moment the storm may burst over us. An insurrectionary spirit is abroad, and God only knows when it will be subdued—my own opinion is that it *never will be.*"

'O slavery!' said Caroline, 'I hardly know which situation is more distressing—that of the slave-holder, or his bondmen.'

CONVERSATION VIII.

"What day passes by without the occurrence of some event, or the witness of some scene, which draws from every feeling heart a sigh or a prayer for the complete fulfilment of all the most sanguine hopes of the friends of colonization? It is not merely for an unfortunate portion of our fellow beings, who have been thrown upon our charity, that this Society is formed: ourselves, our children, our land, and every institution of our beloved country, are deeply involved."—*Bishop Meade.*

'We are now ready for another conversation on Africa. I thought that you, at least, Caroline, retired from the subject last night well satisfied with a residence in a non-slave-holding state, and congratulating yourself, perhaps, that you could lay your head on your pillow without the apprehension of being aroused before morning by the cry of "an insurrection?"'

'Indeed, Pa, I have thought much of the South; more, perhaps, because I was born there; and I acknowledge that I have often wished to see the land of my infancy and earliest childhood, especially when I have heard you speak so honourably and feelingly of the kindness and hospitality of the South, and so affectionately of the many warm friends we have there. I have myself formed a very exalted idea of the warm-hearted friendship and genuine hospitality of the South. I also think I should like their pleasant winters, and should relish their summer fruits. Still I cannot say that I

am, in view of all circumstances, *anxious* to take up my residence, even for a few months, in the midst of so much anxiety and alarm as I am sure I should feel in any place surrounded by a population composed, in a great proportion, of slaves. I want to have nothing to do with *slaves*. I can adopt Cowper's declaration with all sincerity :

> "I would not have a *slave* to till my ground,
> To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,
> And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
> That sinews bought and sold have ever earn'd.
> No: dear as freedom is, and in my heart's
> Just estimation prized above all price,
> I had much rather be myself the slave,
> And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him."

'Pa,' said Henry, 'are not the laws of slave-holding states very severe in respect to the slave? I have read some very cruel enactments, as they appeared to me. I recollect that about the time of the Southampton massacre, or soon after it, the legislature of Louisiana adopted very severe resolutions, in respect to slaves, and ordered all free people who had lately come into the state, to leave it within sixty days.'

'I would offer no apology for slavery, my son; but it is conceded by all that its very existence seems to require some provision for its maintenance. In my own view, the necessity for severe enactments, shows slavery to be a great evil. It is pleaded by the people of the South, that rigorous laws and those which seem to some cruelly severe, are made necessary by "the interference of strangers." The resolutions, for instance, to which you refer as having passed the Louisiana legislature, were adopted a few days after the arrest in New Orleans of four free persons of colour engaged in circulating "Walker's Appeal," called more commonly

both at the South and the North, "the diabolical Boston pamphlet." This pamphlet was calculated to endanger the lives of the whole white population of the Southern country, wherever it should obtain circulation among the blacks. Even in Boston, although there was no law which took cognizance of the act, the municipal Judge referred to that publication in his charge at the opening of the next court, as one of highly reprehensible character, and he regretted that the laws had not anticipated the offence. In Georgia, too, about the same time, the legislature thought it necessary to impose a quarantine of forty days on all vessels arriving with free coloured persons on board, and to oblige the captains of such vessels to carry away again all such persons; and they also enacted that *the circulation of pamphlets of evil tendency among domestics, be considered a capital offence.* The same law makes it *penal to teach free persons of colour, or slaves, to read or write*, and prohibits the introduction of slaves into the state for sale. These enactments also were in consequence of a message of Gov. Gilmer, founded upon a pamphlet of dangerous character which was found to be in circulation in Savannah.

'Other severe legislation has taken place in these and other states from time to time, for similar reasons. It is, to say the least, truly an unfortunate state of things which requires such security.'

'Pa, I can hardly regard any one as a good citizen, or considerate man, who would throw these publications, as so many firebrands, into the midst of a slave population. I should think it would be like casting coals of fire into a magazine,' said Caroline.

'These laws,' Mr. L. further remarked, 'are chiefly of recent date; and it was to be hoped that the causes which

led to their adoption and seemed to render them necessary, would cease to operate, and that these laws would be altered or repealed. The evil complained of, however, it is said, has continued to exist, and that too accompanied with aggravated circumstances which have led to renewed and more rigorous legislation; whilst also appeals have been made by several of the states through their legislatures to the non-slave-holding states, asking them to legislate on the subject, so as to make punishable in all the states the issuing of such publications as strike at the peace and security of other parts of the Union. Congress has also been occupied in much unprofitable discussion growing out of the present state of things, whilst from one part of the country, petitions have flowed in upon the two houses for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; and from another, efforts have been made to subject the Post-office establishment to such regulations that a supervisory power shall exclude from the mails all publications deemed incendiary, and also to secure from our national legislature a pledge that the United States has no authority touching the question of slavery even within their own domain, the ten miles square in which our capitol is located.

'The greatest circumspection should, doubtless, be observed for the safety of the South, or the consequence of remissness on their part will be the sacrifice of many valuable lives, both among the whites who may be the victims of an insurrectionary movement, and the blacks who would fall in its suppression.'

'Have we reason to suppose that an insurrection of the Negroes at the South will ever be permanently successful? It was, I believe, at St. Domingo?'

'It cannot be attended with permanent success, so long as

the Union endures. Mr. Clay has correctly remarked, "It would be speedily suppressed by the all-powerful means of the United States; and, it would be the madness of despair in the blacks that should attempt it. But, if attempted in some parts of the United States, what shocking scenes of carnage, rapine, and lawless violence might not be perpetrated before the arrival at the theatre of action of a competent force to quell it! And after it is put down, what other scenes of military rigour and bloody executions to punish the insurgents, and impress their whole race with the influence of example!" '

'The necessity of keeping the blacks in *ignorance*, it seems to me, is greatly to be regretted.'

'It is. I cannot myself, however, believe in such necessity. The slave and the free should both be instructed. In what way instruction should be given may be a matter of inquiry. This subject may be regulated according to what shall appear safest and most equitable in respect to all concerned. But to withhold moral and religious instruction from any human being, is altogether unjustifiable. To bestow generally that instruction also which prepares for the enjoyment of freedom, I think also is both duty and good policy. If the slave remain a slave, I cannot think that entire ignorance is necessary; and if he is ever to be free, it is certainly necessary that he should be instructed.'

'I think I have heard you say, Pa, that you have given instruction to slaves—and that no objection was made by their masters?'

'I have myself instructed several—and I have friends who have given, or caused instruction to be given, to many more. I do not mean religious and moral instruction only either. I

have myself heard a slave at the South recite from the Latin and Greek Classics. That slave was also acquainted with the Hebrew. I have seen Negroes at the South admitted to equal privileges in some of the first literary institutions. I know many slave-holders who disclaim the idea that it is *necessary* to keep slaves in ignorance; and I know not a few benevolent masters and mistresses, who, either in person, instruct their slaves, or cause others to do it under their direction. This, it is true, is not according to the letter of the laws, if according to the spirit of the *government* in the slave-holding states. Jealousy and fear, *perhaps* I ought to say common prudence, have caused severe laws, which preclude the instruction, lawfully, in some instances, of both bondman and coloured freeman. Not even religious and moral instruction is to be given except under certain restrictions. But I believe that any man in whom the community may have confidence, might pass his life very usefully at the South in the instruction of Negroes, bond and free, with the entire approbation of the whites, notwithstanding all present legal enactments, there being little disposition to enforce the letter of the law except in necessary cases.'

'Of what use then are the enactments?'

'The slave-holder, perhaps, will tell you that these enactments enable the Southern community of whites to keep the power in their own hands, against all who would exert a dangerous influence; but that they were never designed to operate except as a preventive of insurrectionary plans and incentives.'

'You think, Sir, that the laws in regard to blacks in the Southern States would be of a very different character, were it not for the indiscreet measures of men who, professing to

befriend the slave, endanger the safety of both whites and blacks, in their hostility to slavery?'

'I do; and there are a multitude of facts to which I might refer—facts of no doubtful character—in support of that sentiment. It is an opinion also which I have heard expressed by intelligent *blacks* at the South, who generally most heartily deprecate any interference in their concerns, by citizens of non-slave-holding States. Their situation is made extremely trying oftentimes by such interference. Still I would by no means impugn the motives of any class of the true friends of Africa. Aspersions are often cast, no doubt most unjustly, on the motives of a portion of the advocates of universal emancipation. Incendiaries and evil disposed men there may be among them; but indiscriminate censure is generally wrong.'

'Why, Pa, do not the slave-holding States unite, and rid themselves of the evil at once? I am sure they might do better than continue to cherish an evil so fraught with danger and solicitude.'

'My daughter, they feel, (and I have no doubt that under existing circumstances, the conviction is honest,) that they cannot rid themselves of the evil so easily, as some imagine. There is, the Southron will tell you, a relation between the owner of slaves, and the unhappy beings who are thrown upon him, which is far more complicated, and far less easily dissolved, than a mind unacquainted with the whole subject in all its bearings, is apt to suppose—a relation growing out of the very structure of society.

'Go, for instance, to the slave-holder, and propose to him to emancipate his slaves. He feels the evils of slavery as strongly, and probably more so than you can feel them—

and *who* will say that he has not as much benevolence in his heart as we in ours? The laws of his State, framed according to the dictates of the best judgment of legislators, forbid emancipation, except under certain restrictions, which are deemed absolutely necessary to prevent pauperism, and wretchedness, and crime, and utter ruin: and here are human beings dependant on him for protection, and government, and support. The relation he did not voluntarily assume. He was born the legal proprietor of his slaves, just as much as he was born the subject of civil government. This fact is often sneered at; but it is fact notwithstanding. And it is his duty, and a duty which he cannot well avoid, to make the best provision for them in his power. Too frequently, it would be just as humane to throw them overboard at sea, as to set them free in this country. Moreover, if he turn them out to shift for themselves, he turns out upon the community those who in all probability will become, most of them, vagabonds, paupers, felons, a pest to society. He will tell you that as a christian, as a patriot, as a philanthropist, as an honest man, and humane friend of the blacks, he finds insuperable obstacles to the accomplishment of what you propose. He will tell you, perhaps, that it is "a consummation devoutly to be *wished*." Many, I believe, are precisely of this state of mind.

"I acknowledge that I have had my northern prejudices; and those prejudices were strong—they stirred within me indignation—and almost revenge. But I would now indulge in no sweeping anathema against the South. I have been, for years, in a situation to *see* the tremendous evil of slavery *as it is*. I can therefore sympathize with the slave-holder who regrets the necessity which, in a measure, compels him to hold his fellow-men in bondage, whilst at the same time I abhor slavery with my whole heart. I can bear witness

also to the humanity of slave-holders in the Southern States, so far as my acquaintance and observation has extended. It has far exceeded the feeling which I have usually found indulged towards blacks, in my native New England, or in the Middle States. The specimens of ill-treatment of slaves with which the world is served up, now and then, by the issuing of a new edition of the old stereotype form, and which seem to be but too well suited to the taste of a large portion of the community, are a wretched caricature, and as unfair specimens of the general treatment which slaves receive, as would be the assassination and murder of an individual in this State, held up as a sample of Philadelphia morals. A much kindlier feeling, I am satisfied, is indulged towards blacks at the South, than at the North.'

CONVERSATION IX.

"Frown indignantly on the first dawnings of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."—*Washington.*

'THERE is a way, Pa,' said Caroline, on the conversation being resumed, 'which some people have, of talking of slaves as "*property*," which is exceeding grating to my ears, and at which my mind always revolts.'

'As to that, my daughter,' said Mr. L., 'if any man talks of this species of property as if it were his unqualified right to hold his fellow-men in bondage without any regard to the circumstances and necessity of the case, the whole civilized world, and the laws of christian nations which have pronounced the slave trade to be *piracy*, are against him. It is not often that we hear any man attempt to justify slavery in the abstract, or that we find one who looks upon his slaves in precisely the same light in which most people regarded them when the slave-trade was legitimate.

'There are, I know, exceptions to the generally correct and christian sentiments and declarations of distinguished men at the South on this subject. I have not forgotten the painful sensations with which I have read some remarks that have fallen from the lips of a few individuals. A Governor of South Carolina, in a message to the Legislature of his

State, a few years since, said, "Slavery is *not a national evil;* on the contrary it is a national benefit. * * Slavery exists in some form *every where*, and it is *not of much consequence*, in a philosophical point of view, *whether it be voluntary, or involuntary.*" A Governor of the same State has recently used still stronger language in vindication of slavery. But such sentiments, I am inclined to consider as an anomaly, on the whole, and not a fair representation of the views of the South; much less can they receive the approbation of the American people. The man who can utter them is far behind the age in which we live.

'I recollect also an address delivered in South Carolina, a few years since, by one of her distinguished sons, in which the speaker maintained that slavery, as it exists in the Southern States, is "no greater, or more unusual evil, than befals the poor in general; that its extinction would be attended with calamity to the country, and to the people connected with it, in every character and relation; that no necessity exists for such extinction; that slavery is sanctioned by the Mosaic dispensation; that it is fulfilment of the denunciation pronounced against the second son of Noah; that it is not inconsistent with the genius and spirit of christianity; nor considered by St. Paul as a moral evil."

'I have also noticed the recent remarks upon the floors of Congress, of certain Southern gentlemen; and read several addresses lately delivered in various slave-holding States, some of which take the ground that slavery "is sanctioned by the religion of the Bible," as well as justified in law; and one declares "solemnly and emphatically," that "if any man at the South makes but a movement towards emancipation—equal or partial—immediate or remote, he is faithless to the duty which he owes to his State—faithless to the duty which he owes to his God."

'Another specimen of Southern views on the subject, may be found in a debate which I have before me, that occurred not long since in a synod of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia. A proposition was before the Synod that "all the domestic relations, (meaning to include slavery,) stand upon precisely the same ground in Scripture." The Rev. Dr. H. expressed his astonishment at the views presented. He "could not agree by any means, that the relation of master and slave is precisely the same as that of husband and wife. No, nor at all the same. The one is a natural relation, ordained of God, and sanctioned by Him for the happiness of man; but the other had its origin in injustice and wrong and is never sanctioned in the Bible; unless allusions to it as an existing relation and a tolerated evil are so *misinterpreted*. But because it is an *existing relation*, does it follow that it has a basis like that of the relation of husband and wife? God forbid! The relations differ widely and essentially, not only in their nature, but also in the fact that one is permanent, and the other continues only by the strong *necessity* of the case. It is absurd to maintain that there is a precise similarity in the relations, either in their natural basis, or their perpetuity. I, for one, cannot consent to any phraseology which looks that way. It is *unscriptural and false*. I maintain that *slavery continues only by necessity; and that it* OUGHT TO BE ABOLISHED AS SOON AS IT CAN BE, CONSISTENTLY WITH THE GOOD OF ALL CONCERNED."

'The Rev. Dr. B., who is a distinguished Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, was somewhat opposed to the views of his distinguished friend. He "denied that the relation is unlawful; it is recognized by Scripture. The apostles treated it as a relation *morally right, considering all the circumstances*. Nor can any thing be done to coun-

teract the incendiary efforts of fanaticism, until we take scriptural views of this subject, and maintain them from Scripture. It is also impossible to do much for the extensive religious instruction of the slaves themselves, unless they are made to understand that their masters have a scriptural right to maintain their authority. The public mind seems to be much shaken upon this subject, even in our own section of country. But it is a fact established by *Scripture*, that the master has a moral right to retain his relation to his slaves. There are, however, reciprocal duties for each to perform, which are too commonly and fearfully neglected."

'Another learned Doctor of divinity, the President of Hampden Sidney College, did "not think it necessary to take such ground. The truth is, that slavery is so much involved in the very texture of society, that immediate destruction is an utter *impossibility*. Even supposing the existing relation to be sinful, yet the abolitionists are so wild in their mode of action, that they never can succeed. Nothing can be done in the way they are attempting. They do not seem to consider consequences at all, or to reflect that the subject has intricate relations, and many troublesome political and social bearings. On a certain occasion, it is said, an eagle caught up an innocent lamb, and was flying off with its prey in the air, when suddenly the intelligent bird was convinced of its injustice; and, desirous of making immediate reparation, it let go its hold, and dashed the lamb's brains out! Such is *abolition* benevolence!"

'The Rev. Mr. L. insisted with much earnestness, that it was "necessary to take the ground assumed by Dr. B., and by the paper read. The churches expect a full expression of sentiment on the part of pastors; and it will not do to give the subject the *go by*, in the way intimated by the

last speaker. It is not enough merely to denounce the abolitionists, and to say that they were wrong. We ought to give the reasons of our difference of opinion, and to let them know that we maintain our existing relations with the slaves, because *the Bible gives us authority to do it.*"

'The Rev. Mr. S. thought "the paper which had been read goes too far. It extenuates slavery, and leaves false impressions upon the mind. I justify slavery, not from Scripture, but from *circumstances.* Slavery *is a moral evil*, and *ought to be done away as soon as possible.* Better contend for immediate emancipation, than for perpetual servitude. The actual degraded condition of the African race is the only reason why slavery ought not to be abolished this very hour. Ethiopia must one day stretch forth her hands unto the Lord, and my prayer is, that that time may speedily come! Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, are the right of all; and can only be taken away by the claims of a harsh and stern necessity. Something ought to be done at once, and effectually, for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves. But let not this Synod, even in appearance, assume principles which justify the perpetuity of slavery."

'The Rev. Mr. W. said, "that to his mind two things were perfectly clear: 1st. The relation of master and slave is *justified by Scripture.* The Holy Spirit has marked out the existence of that relation. 2d. Our Saviour and his apostles never intended to interfere with the civil relations of society, except by the silent influence of religion upon the heart and life. Whenever an attempt has been made to *force* mankind, in anticipation of the preparation which can only be effected by the gospel, harm has always been done. I cannot but think that the views expressed in the paper are, in the main, correct."

'The Rev. Mr. T., another Professor in the Theological Seminary, would "never interfere in a political way with any matter. But would touch the subject in a *scriptural* way. This is a Bible question. Slavery has bearings upon very important actual duties in life, for which the Bible provides. The ultimate influence of the gospel will change the order of society; but it will be only *when all parties are willing that the change should take place*, and then who will complain? The Bible has power to break every unholy bond, and to set every thing right in society. If any think slavery will be eternal, I differ very much from them. Nor does the paper, which has been read, contain any sentiment implying a desire to *perpetuate slavery*."

'The Rev. Mr. A., now one of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, believed "that rash and bold assertions have unsettled the minds of many christians in reference to slavery." He was for adopting a circular letter, giving a *scriptural* view of the subject. "The Bible, no doubt, *tolerates the existing relation, in view of the circumstances of the case*."

'W. M. Esq., a distinguished lawyer, and elder of the church, remarked that he was "by no means satisfied with the spirit and principles of the paper. To say that slavery stands upon *precisely* the same ground with the other social relations, is to my mind very far from being precisely true."

"Such views leave the impression that slavery may continue an indefinite period, without sin. For if the Bible sanctions it, the thing is morally right; and if morally right, we are under no obligations to remove it. But is this scripture? Must we sit still, and do nothing for the removal of this crying evil? Must we wait for some miraculous interposition of divine agency? With the Bible in our hands, no one

can doubt that slavery is inconsistent with its spirit and its precepts; and we are *bound*, therefore, to aim at emancipation. Lord Chatham once said, that he would never come into parliament, with the statute book doubled down with dog's ears to prove that liberty was the birth-right of British subjects. Nor will I, cried Mr. Maxwell, come into this Synod, with my Bible *doubled down in dog's ears*, to prove that slavery is wrong. No, sir, I will not undertake such a work of supererogation! One need read but the first chapter in the word of God to be convinced that slavery is wrong. How was man created? With dominion over the soul and body of his fellow-man? No! There was no slavery in Eden. Nor would there have been any to curse the earth, unless Satan had prevailed in the temptation. It is preposterous to go to the Bible to defend slavery. Its universal spirit is against the institution, gloriously against it! But some have said, that although slavery is wrong in the abstract, yet circumstances have made it morally right. This phraseology, sir, I object to. That which is once *wrong*, can never become *morally right*. It never can become right in such a sense as releases us from obligations to attempt the removal of the original evil. It never can become morally right, in the common acceptation of the phrase. The most we can say of it is, that it may be *tolerated* on account of an imperious and dreadful necessity. To say that slavery is morally right, would be a virtual abrogation of the law of love.

'"Yet, whilst I deny that slavery can be said to be morally right, I maintain the existence of a necessity, which palliates, under the circumstances, the temporary continuance of the relation. But mark! I found my position not on Scripture, nor on the moral lawfulness of slavery; but simply on the fact of a *necessity*. To illustrate my idea: Killing a man in the abstract is wrong, just as slavery is. And yet I may

kill a man *in a particular case* of self-defence. *Circumstances* justify me; self-preservation is the valid plea. And yet I may wilfully kill no man, *if I can avoid it.* I am bound to use every means to release myself from the necessity of taking the life of a human being. So it is with slavery. I have no right before God or men to keep my fellow man in bondage, except in view of the peculiar exigency. I may not rest satisfied while he is deprived of his liberty. I am bound to make every effort for his deliverance; and unless I do my best to get rid of the necessity, I am guilty of the sin of unjustifiable slavery—just as much as in other circumstances, I would be guilty of unjustifiable homicide. But if I am aiming at emancipation, and doing that which is 'just and right' to my slaves, I may, during the interval preserve my authority over them. It is the dictate of self-preservation, as well as the impulse of benevolence, to do so.

'"We must try to *get rid* of slavery. We have no right to cling to our slaves, under the delusion that the Scripture justifies the system as morally right. By colonization we can rescue many from their servile degradation. And if any other rational plan of emancipation is practicable, we are under obligations which no man may disregard with impunity, to embrace the occasion, and let the oppressed go free.

'"In regard to *immediate* abolition," said Mr. M., "but one single opinion can flash through the minds of this assembly. It is a scheme of destruction and ruin. It is casting off the slave to let him sink. It is adding death to injustice, murder to oppression. God forbid that we should add this to our sins!

'"But whilst I condemn the immediate abolition scheme, I cannot sanction the principles contained in the paper which has led to this discussion. Such principles, instead of tran-

quilizing christians, would only disturb them the more; because their consciences will not *stay tranquillized.* SLAVERY IS ABHORRENT TO THE ENLIGHTENED CONSCIENCE, and all efforts to give it false peace, would, in the end, only increase its agitations. I am satisfied that *Southern christians will not receive such principles;* let not the Synod of this ancient commonwealth sanction any principles which seem to justify slavery, especially from *Scripture.* Let us tell the world that we *abhor the system,* and only justify its continuance amongst us by an imperious necessity, which our feeble hands cannot now control. God forbid that we should assume a position, favourable even in appearance, to the perpetuity of human bondage!"

'I have thus occupied your attention by this debate at some length, because I think it but a fair expression of Southern views and feelings generally on the subject of slavery. I need hardly say that the proposition which gave rise to the debate was *rejected.*

'There are, it is to be supposed, some whose rashness is greater than their judgment, who recklessly assert principles which would find few advocates among the virtuous or considerate *any* where; but I am persuaded that there is a more correct sentiment prevailing at the South among the enlightened and influential part of the community than is generally supposed, and perhaps than might be inferred from this debate. Otherwise, we might have less hope for the slave, and greater fear for our country—and be led to endorse in despair the words of the poet:

> "Yet, yet, degraded men! the expected day
> That breaks your bitter cup is far away;
> Trade, wealth, and fashion, ask you still to bleed,
> And *holy men give Scripture* for the deed."

'But to show what have been the sentiments of the South

on this subject, still more clearly, and what are the views which we may expect still to prevail, I will also refer to other instances.

'Says one who has stood high in the public confidence at the South, "Almost all masters in VIRGINIA assent to the proposition, that when the slaves can be liberated *without danger to themselves, and to their own advantage*, IT OUGHT TO BE DONE." He adds, "If there are few who think otherwise in Virginia, I feel assured there are few such any where at the South."

It was the language of PATRICK HENRY, "It would rejoice my very soul, that every one of my fellow beings was emancipated. As we ought, with gratiude, to admire that decree of heaven which has numbered us among the free, we ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow-men in bondage."

'Said ZACHARIAH JOHNSON, in the same debate before the legislature of Virginia, when the distinguished Patrick Henry uttered the above,—"Slavery has been the foundation of that impiety, and dissipation, which have been so much disseminated among our countrymen. If it were totally abolished, it would do much good. * * The principle (of emancipation) has begun, since the Revolution; let us do what we will, it will come round."

'GOV. RANDOLPH, in the same debate, approved the hope "that those unfortunate men, held in bondage, might, by the operation of the general government, be made free."

'JUDGE TUCKER, in 1795, wrote—"The introduction of slavery into this country, is, at this day, considered among its greatest misfortunes." In 1803 he wrote—"Will not our posterity execrate the memory of those ancestors, who, having it in their power to avert evil, have, like their first parents, entailed a curse upon all future generations?

What a blood-stained code that must be, which is calculated for the restraint of millions held in bondage. Such must our unhappy country exhibit, unless we are both wise and just enough to avert from posterity the calamity and reproach which are otherwise unavoidable."

'Mr. JEFFERSON asks, "Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people, that their liberties are the gift of God?"

'JUDGE WASHINGTON, in a speech before the Colonization Society, expressed the decided hope that colonization "would lead to the slow, but gradual abolition of slavery," and "wipe from our political institutions, the only blot which stains them."

'GEN. HARPER, has spoken of slavery as "a great moral and political evil, of increasing virulence and extent, from which much mischief is now felt, and very great calamity in future, is justly apprehended."

'GEN. MERCER remarks, "The hope of the gradual and utter abolition of slavery, in a manner consistent with the rights, interests, and happiness of society, ought never to be abandoned."

'W. H. FITZHUGH, ESQ., who proved the sincerity of his remarks, by the liberation of all his slaves, and by a liberal provision for them in Liberia, bears this testimony—"Slavery, in its mildest form, is an evil of the darkest character. Cruel and unnatural in its origin, no plea can be urged in justification of its continuance but the plea of necessity—the necessity which requires us to submit to existing evils, rather than substitute by their removal, others of a more serious and destructive character. There is no rivetted attachment to slavery prevailing extensively, in any portion of our country. Its injurious effects on our habits, our morals, our indi-

vidual wealth, and more especially on our national strength and prosperity, are universally felt, and almost universally acknowledged."

'William Gaston, of North Carolina, formerly a distinguished member of Congress, and now on the bench of the Supreme Court of that State, in an address before a literary and philanthropic society in the University of North Carolina, in 1832, says—"On you will devolve the duty which has been too long neglected, but which cannot with impunity be neglected much longer, of providing for the mitigation, and (is it too much to hope for in North Carolina?) for the ultimate extirpation of the worst evil that afflicts the southern part of our confederacy. * * Disguise the truth as we may, and throw the blame where we will, it is slavery which, more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement." * * "How this evil is to be encountered, how subdued, is indeed a difficult and delicate inquiry."

'Col. Drayton, of South Carolina, in the course of an elaborate speech in Congress, not long since, sketched a picture of slavery, and a brief of the views of the South, which was reported in the words following. Col. Drayton was ever regarded as not only a man of distinguished talents, but as remarkable for his candour, excellent judgment, and honourable feelings. "There was not a person who more deeply commiserated slaves than he did; but while their pillows are planted with thorns, their masters do not repose on downy beds. The miseries extended to the whole circle of society in which they move. He spoke from actual experience of these miseries. Could he destroy the evil, no zealous fanatic would more easily try to extirpate it than his fellow-citizens of the South and himself. None know more the misery of slavery than those who hold slaves.

'"Slavery is indeed a bitter draught, and though thousands are made to drink of it, yet still it is a bitter draught. Such are the peculiar habits of slaves, that they will enjoy the song and the dance, and spend the night in revelry and feasting, while the master is stretched on a sleepless couch. Would one feeling thus wish to perpetuate the evil! Let not such a mistake prevail. It is the interest of the master to ameliorate the condition of the slaves as much as he can; and those mistaken philanthropists who, without understanding the situation of that part of the country, intrude their efforts at amelioration, only make the condition of the slave more wretched. No one can administer successfully to a disease who is ignorant of its character. No one can beneficially prescribe, who is ignorant of the effect of the medicine he administers. The citizens of the South know how far to go with safety to themselves, and he who ignorantly interferes, converts intended benefits into serious injuries. The Southern citizens know, but they suffer none others to interfere. Interference they consider as an injury, and are disposed to resent it as an insult. When gentlemen talk of government having a right to interfere, they speak without proper consideration."

'Such are the opinions of gentlemen of eminent talents, all of whom are, or were, of the South; most of whom, if not all, have been extensive proprietors of slaves.

'It certainly becomes us to be open to conviction, and willing to receive the truth. It is a great misfortune, growing out of the actual condition of the several states, some being exempt from, and others liable to, the evils of slavery, that they are too prone to misrepresent the views and wishes of each other in respect to it.'

'In some publications, Pa,' said Caroline, 'which Henry

and I have been looking over since these conversations began, we have seen some very unkind remarks respecting the South, calculated to wound the feelings of her citizens deeply, and exceeding severe on some of the gentlemen whose language you have quoted. In a file of the Liberator, a writer, who is thought to be Mr. Garrison, having selected certain passages from the writings of such men as Mr. Clay, Gen. Harper, Gen. Mercer, Mr. Harrison, President Caldwell, and others, exclaims—"*Ye crafty calculators! ye hard-hearted, incorrigible sinners! ye greedy and relentless robbers! ye contemners of justice and mercy! ye trembling, pitiful, pale-faced usurpers! my soul spurns you with unspeakable disgust!*" I cannot think that good men, even among abolitionists, can approve of this language.'

'Such severity of denunciation against those who are among the wisest and best men of the country,' remarked Mr. L., 'is wrong, very *wrong;* and I cannot think it is approved by any considerable portion of the community. Whoever the writer was, he is deserving of reprehension. His course will rivet the chains of slavery, not loose them.

'It were well for our country, and better for our coloured population, especially for the slaves, if, in regard to this whole matter, every citizen were to cherish kindly and charitable feelings. The last advice of our illustrious Washington was, "FROWN INDIGNANTLY ON THE FIRST DAWNINGS OF EVERY ATTEMPT TO ALIENATE ANY PORTION OF OUR COUNTRY FROM THE REST, OR ENFEEBLE THE SACRED TIES WHICH NOW LINK TOGETHER THE VARIOUS PARTS."'

CONVERSATION X.

"We determined not to suffer slavery there; but the slave merchants and their adherents occasioned us not only much trouble, but at last got the then government to sanction them. We would not suffer slavery, (which is against the gospel, as well as the fundamental law of England,) to be authorized under our authority; we refused, as trustees, to make a law permitting such a horrid crime. The government, finding the trustees resolved firmly not to concur with what they thought unjust, took away the charter by which no law could be passed without our consent."—*Oglethorpe.*

'Good morning, my daughter—good morning, Henry,' said Mr. L., as he entered the parlour, quite early in the morning, 'shall we now, although earlier than our usual hour for conversation, turn our attention again, for a few minutes, to the subject of Africa's wrongs, and the unfortunate relation to her children, into which our country has been introduced by the policy of England, and the cupidity of her traders in human flesh? I think we shall have an hour before the time for family prayer.'

Caroline and Henry were both pleased with the proposition. 'Will you tell us, Pa,' said Caroline, 'at what time slaves were first brought to this country, and where they were sold. I shall be gratified to be more familiar with the facts that assure us that our country is not responsible for the original introduction of slavery to the western world.'

'It will give me pleasure to gratify your wishes in this respect. The first shipment of slaves to our country, was on the very year that the "Pilgrim fathers" of New England, as the first settlers of New England are called, first stepped upon Plymouth Rock, and thirteen years after the first settlement on the James river. The "cargo!" was landed at Jamestown, and sold to the planters of Virginia. It consisted of twenty Africans from the coast of Guinea, brought to the colony in a Dutch vessel, under the sanction and by the authority of British laws.

'Although by the purchase of these and other slaves which soon followed, individuals lent themselves to the oppression of Africa's unhappy children, it is due to the colonial ancestry of Virginia to say that they, at a very early period, earnestly remonstrated against these importations. Their appeals to the British crown, were loud and frequent, but unsuccessful. They had no voice in the government under whose laws slavery was introduced, and no control over its decisions. Therefore I have said that we are not responsible, as a nation, for the introduction of the trade. The origin of slavery in our land is to be referred to the agency of a foreign government, and the evil of slavery considered as an incumbrance connected with our English inheritance.

'It should be mentioned also to the credit of Virginia, that the legislature of that colony, at an early period, enacted laws to counteract the evil, by imposing restrictions on the introduction of slaves; and that it is, at the same time, a matter of history by no means honourable to the mother country, that those measures of the colony were discountenanced, and the laws which the legislature enacted, rejected by Government as injurious to the commerce of England. Thus slavery, with all its unhappy consequences, was entail-

ed upon the colonies to promote the supposed interests of England. It should be understood, moreover, that this very conduct of the British crown, is a grievance set forth in the Declaration of our Independence among the causes of the Revolution.'

'Do you recollect, Caroline,' said Henry, 'those lines by Mrs. Sigourney, entitled The First Slave-ship?'

'I do not; but I should like to hear them. I admire Mrs. S.'s poetical genius; and take the more interest in every thing from her pen since she is the acquaintance and very esteemed friend of our dear mother.'

"First of that race which curst the wave,
And from his rifled cabin bore,
Inheritor of wo, the slave
To bless his palm-tree's shade no more!

Dire engine! o'er the troubled main
Borne on in unresisted state,
Know'st thou within thy dark domain,
The horrors of thy prison'd freight?

The fetter'd chieftain's burning tear,
The parted lovers' mute despair,
The childless mother's pang severe,
The orphan's agony, are there.

Hear'st thou their moans whom hope has fled,
Wild cries and agonizing starts?
Know'st thou thy hurried sails are spread
With ceaseless sighs from breaking hearts?

Oh! could'st thou from the scroll of fate
The miseries read of future years,
Stripes, tortures, unrelenting hate,
And death-gasps drown'd in ceaseless tears.

Early date of slavery in Africa.

Down, down, beneath the cleaving main
Thou fain would'st plunge where monsters lie,
Rather than ope the gates of pain
For time, and for eternity.

Oh Afric'! what has been thy crime,
That thus like Eden's fratricide,
A mark is set upon thy clime,
And every brother shuns thy side?

Yet are thy wrongs, thou long distrest,
Thy burden by the world unweigh'd,
Safe in that UNFORGETFUL BREAST,
Where all the sins of earth are laid.

The sun upon thy forehead frown'd,
But man, more cruel far than he,
Dark fetters on thy spirit bound;
Look to *the mansion of the free!*

Look up, to realms where chains unbind,
Where powerless falls the threatening rod,
And where the patient sufferers find
A *Friend*—a FATHER in their GOD."

'Oh! it makes my heart bleed,' said Caroline, 'to think of the evils of which that first slave-ship was the precursor to our country; and of the wrongs which from that ill-fated hour that the cruel Dutchman found a market for his injured fellow-men, have been so unsparingly meted out to Africa by citizens of this highly-favoured land. How I wish the purchase had never been made.'

'Were the Dutch the first people who engaged in the traffic, Pa?'

'No, Henry, slavery existed in Africa, long before the transportation of slaves from Africa to this or to any country.'

'It was in Africa that Joseph became the slave of Potiphar; and the Egyptians, you know, Henry, enslaved Israel,' said Caroline. 'When I think of these things, the thought occurs sometimes, that it is possible that Africans may again have their day of prosperity, and the whites, who are now their oppressors, may in their turn become slaves.'

'It is too near the dawn of a happier day, I trust, for such apprehensions to be realized; but, my daughter, if such an event were to occur, think you there would not be one mind among us in regard to the evils of slavery? The prejudices which now blind the minds of many, that they can hardly see any injustice in slavery, would all be removed.

'The practice of holding slaves, I was remarking, existed in Africa, long before slaves were transported thence to foreign countries. The Moors of Spain and Portugal, probably acquired the practice from the Mahometans in the North of Africa; and as evil communications and examples always have a corrupting tendency, the practice of employing and owning slaves soon prevailed among both the Portuguese and the Spaniards, and then among other nations.

'The commencement of the traffic in African slaves, by foreign countries, was probably in the year 1454; when Henry, King of Portugal, under authority from the Roman Pontiffs, took possession of several islands and harbours on the coast, and from thence making descents on the swarming villages of Africa, seized the unsuspecting inhabitants and carried them into slavery.

'It would seem, from what little of the history of the slave-trade I have been able to trace, that in 1481, the natives having become terrified by the frequent depredations committed upon them, retired into the interior. Their invaders finding it difficult, therefore, to obtain slaves in so

great numbers and so expeditiously as they desired, a treaty was made through the influence of bribes and presents, between the traders and African chiefs, the chiefs engaging to furnish subjects for the inhuman traffic. Wars between different tribes, man-stealing, treachery and distrust, misery and ruin, have been, thenceforward, the consequence; and slavery has been the systematized business of the several tribes.

'The Portuguese have the credit, in history, of commencing the unhallowed traffic, and of introducing slavery into this Western world. In 1508, slaves were carried into Hispaniola, or Little Spain, as it was called by Columbus; now St. Domingo, one of the West India Islands: and in the year 1517, slaves were introduced into the Brazilian colonies in South America.

'It is said that the project of transporting slaves from Africa to the New World, was first suggested by Bartholemi de Las Casas, a Catholic Priest. Previous to this time, adventurers to the Western continent and the Islands along the Atlantic coast, had, with extreme cruelty, reduced to servitude the confiding and unoffending Indians, the natives of the soil. The cruelty with which they treated the Indians, unaccustomed to such usage or to any confinement or privations, was very great. It is supposed that when the Spaniards discovered the Island of Hispaniola, there were on it, at least a million of inhabitants, (Las Casas thinks there were three millions,) formed into kingdoms, and each governed by sovereigns called Caciques. Such was the cruelty shown them by the Spaniards, that they were reduced to sixty thousand souls, in the short space of fifteen years; and from the year 1508 to the year 1517, they were further reduced by brutal oppression from sixty thousand to fourteen thousand!

'A formal decree of the King of Spain had authorized this oppression of the natives, declaring "that the servitude of the Indians (was) *warranted by the laws both of God and man.*"'

'A part of the system of cruelty carried on against these poor Indians,' said Caroline, 'was the hunting of them with *blood-hounds*, was it not, Pa?'

'It was; and these, I am sorry to say, were introduced by Columbus, who was in other respects a good and great man. Finding the natives determined to resist the oppressions of his soldiery, he determined in their extinction, and went forth against them with all his strength. The historian says that a "part of the force employed by Columbus on this occasion consisted of *blood-hounds*, which made great havoc among the native Indians." Las Casas says, in relating subsequent events in Cuba: "In three or four months, I saw more than seven thousand children die of hunger, whose fathers and mothers had been dragged away to work in the mines. I was witness at the same time of other cruelties not less horrible. It was resolved to march against the Indians, who had fled to the mountains. They were chased like wild beasts, with the assistance of blood-hounds, who had been trained to the thirst for human blood."*

*The circumstances attending the introduction of dogs into the South American continent and islands, and their subsequent wild state, are thus described in "The History of the Buccaneers:"

"But here the curious reader may, perhaps, inquire, how so many wild dogs came here. The occasion was, the Spaniards having possessed these isles, found them peopled with Indians, a barbarous people, sensual and brutish, hating all labour, and only inclined to killing, and making war against their neighbours, not out of ambition, but only because they agreed not with themselves in some common terms of language; and perceiving the dominion of the Spaniards laid great restrictions upon their lazy and brutish cus-

'You recollect the revolting description which Lord Byron gives of the fierceness and rapacity of these animals, when they have once acquired a fondness for human flesh :—

"——He saw the lean dogs beneath the wall,
Hold o'er the dead their carnival,
Gorging and growling o'er carcase and limb—
They were too busy to bark at him,
From a Tartar's skull they had stript the flesh,
As ye pull the fig when the fruit is fresh.
The scalps were in the wild dog's maw,
The hair was tangled round his jaw."

'Las Casas, with the support of other ecclesiastics, devoted his life to endeavour the amelioration of their condi-

toms, they conceived an irreconcileable hatred against them, but especially because they saw them take possession of their kingdoms and dominions: hereupon they made against them all the resistance they could, opposing every where their designs to the utmost; and the Spaniards finding themselves cruelly hated by the Indians, and nowhere secure from their treacheries, resolved to extirpate and ruin them, since they could neither tame them by civility, nor conquer them with the sword. But the Indians, it being their custom to make their woods their chief places of defence, at present made these their refuge, whenever they fled from the Spaniards; hereupon those first conquerors of the New World made use of dogs to range and search the intricatest thickets of woods and forests, for those their implacable and unconquerable enemies; thus they forced them to leave their old refuge, and submit to the sword, seeing no milder usage would do it; hereupon they killed some of them, and quartering their bodies, placed them in the high-ways, that others might take warning from such a punishment; but this severity proved of ill consequence; for, instead of frighting them and reducing them to civility, they conceived such horror of the Spaniards, that they resolved to detest and fly their sight for ever: hence, the greatest part died in caves and subterraneous places of woods and mountains, in which places I myself have often seen great numbers of human bones. The Spaniards, finding no more Indians to appear about the woods, turned away a great number of dogs they had in their houses, and they finding no masters to keep them, betook themselves to the woods and fields to hunt for food to preserve their lives; thus, by degrees, they became unacquainted with houses and grew wild. This is the truest account I can give of the multitudes of wild dogs in these parts."

tion. He crossed the Atlantic for the purpose again and again. He braved all dangers, and shrunk from no fatigue in their behalf, but unceasingly urged the claims of the oppressed Indians, at the Spanish court.

'In his sympathy for one class of his fellow-men, however, Las Casas forgot or disregarded the rights of another class. From at least mistaken motives of humanity, he finally proposed to the Emperor, Charles V., a project to import slaves from Africa, representing that the warm climate of the South would be congenial to their natures, and that thus the labours of the surviving Indians might be greatly relieved.

'This project, unfortunately, was adopted, and laid the foundation of African slavery in the Western World.

'The condition of the poor Indians, however, was by no means bettered. The Bishop of Chiapa, I mean Las Casas, had the mortification to find the chains which it was the object of his life to break, rivetted more firmly, whilst the poor Africans became, through his influence, fellow-sufferers with the Indians in slavery! The final and mournful history of these poor Indians, has been written, in one sentence, by the biographer of Columbus. Says Irving, "They have long since passed away, pining and perishing beneath the domination of the strangers, whom they welcomed so joyfully to their shores."

'The error of Las Casas, is one into which even *good* men, of ardent temperament and philanthropic minds, may sometimes fall, impressed with the importance of a subject which enlists the best feelings of human nature. They may take too limited and partial a view of the subject, and lose sight of important connexions and incidental circumstances, in their devoted attention to the single object which absorbs their immediate sympathies.'

The plea of political necessity often abused.

Caroline here suggested, 'It would be extremely unfortunate if by any imprudent, or misdirected zeal, we should be guilty of a similar error, in attempting to better the condition of the enslaved Africans in our land, and should thus bring down upon them and our country greater evils than we are striving to avert. This, I should infer, is feared by some. You, I think, intimated, some time since, that harsh and censorious language, and coercive measures, have that tendency.'

'We cannot, with propriety, or with good hope of safety or success, be indifferent to consequences; or refuse to take counsel of circumstances, in determining the best way of promoting any cause, however good.

'Nothing, surely, is to be gained by indulging in contemptuous, acrimonious, or threatening language, towards our Southern brethren, in regard to *slavery*. They, it is to be presumed, know as well as we, the tremendous evils of slavery, and are far more deeply concerned than we in an application of the proper remedy. The course which is sometimes taken in regard to this subject, is not fraternal, and therefore neither politic nor wise. Language that is calculated unnecessarily to wound the feelings of the South, and consequently to destroy harmony of feeling, sentiment and action, on this important subject, should be carefully avoided by the good people of the Eastern and middle sections of our country. Besides, it should be considered that no measures can tend to the ultimate benefit of the slaves, in which the slave-holders do not generally and heartily concur. The best interests of slave and master are probably more identified with each other, and involved together, than is generally imagined. There are circumstances which render entire and immediate emancipation ruinous to both master and

slave; and there are circumstances which are felt also at the South, that render it greatly desirable to the master that slavery should end.

'At the same time that I make these remarks, I must also say that no pretence of political necessity, can plead a valid excuse for those who would perpetrate any wrongs whatever. The butchery by wholesale, (for it was little better than wholesale butchery,) of the poor Indians in Hispaniola, was pursued under a most execrable pretence, that of political necessity. And in the same plea, almost every public crime which has disgraced our race, and made the world an arena of strife, a field of blood, has found its constant defence. That whole policy I would repudiate, and utterly detest. There may be circumstances, however, which render it an imperious duty, doubtless, in aiming even to redress the wrongs that have been done, to inquire seriously and prayerfully into the *best manner*, and the most probably successful *means* of redress. Many in our land profess to find themselves precisely in this situation in respect to the slave-question. The evil, say they, is entailed upon our country as a heavy curse; and how to bring about its final removal in a way that shall be best for the slave, and best for the country, is a question of most difficult solution. By all, its importance is confessed to be great. In the view of many of the most energetic friends of Africa, it assumes a magnitude and complicateness which causes the deepest anxiety. In my own view, it is a question which may well task the wisdom of the wise, and give ample scope to the benevolence of the humane.'

'Why, Pa, to plead for perpetuating slavery on the ground that our own interests require it, since the system is established, would be to take advantage of our own wrong.

A consummation devoutly to be wished.

I hope that slavery will soon be viewed by all as an evil that calls loudly for redress, and that our country will yet unite in some measures to free our land from the reproach of slavery, letting the oppressed go free. I feel great confidence, since these conversations began, that this consummation so "devoutly to be wished," will be brought about. The subject has assumed, in many important respects, an entirely new aspect, in my humble view. The evils of slavery magnify, and the "*quo modo*," as Henry says, seems to be attended with very embarrassing considerations, when we contemplate the extinction of the evil. But slavery, it appears to me, *must* cease; Christians cannot, must not cease to pray and labour for its extinction.'

CONVERSATION XI.

"It is the very madness of mock prudence to oppose the removal of a poisoned dish, on account of the pleasant sauces, or nutritious viands which would be lost with it."—*Coleridge.*

'In our last conversation, we noticed briefly the commencement of the African slave-trade. The English and other nations in succession followed the example of Portugal and Spain, and engaged in the horrid traffic. More than three centuries, until lately, some of the christian powers of Europe have been engaged in it; and, for more than a century and a half, it was prosecuted by all christendom, without hesitancy or remorse. The English, the Dutch, the French, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Danes, have all engaged in the traffic.

'The French Guinea-Company contracted, in 1702, to supply the Spanish West Indies with 38,000 Negroes, in ten years. In 1713, a treaty was made between England and Spain, for the importation of 144,000 Negroes, in thirty years. From 1768 to 1786, one hundred thousand slaves were annually exported from Africa. In 1786, England alone employed in the traffic 130 ships.

'Some have estimated the whole number of slaves exported from Africa since the origin of the trade, at nearly 20,000,000. Certain it is, that the most potent nations of

the earth, have seemed to vie with each other in this fiendish work.'

'And yet, Pa, these nations call themselves civilized and christian!'

'Yes, it is a painful reflection, as it is an indelible reproach, that for so long a time, the intercourse of christian nations with Africa, instead of imparting the blessings of civilization and religion, has tended only to destroy the happiness of Africa and debase its character.'

'The Africans surely cannot have conceived a very favourable impression respecting either our religion or our humanity?'

'The treatment which they have received, it is said, had caused them to identify christianity with perfidy and cruelty, until recent efforts were made to colonize Africa with freemen, and to civilize and christianize that dark continent by means of colonization. Mr. Newton, who, you know, resided for a time in Africa, and was engaged in the slave-trade when the world seemed to be blind to the iniquity of the traffic, says, that such has been the influence of the slave-trade, in cherishing among the unfortunate Africans the vilest passions, enkindling among them intestine wars waged for the purpose of obtaining captives, and inciting them to betray and kidnap one another, that instead of the influence of Europeans being favourable to piety, "the best people in Africa are those who have had the least intercourse with Europeans!" The Africans, he says, are worse in proportion to their acquaintance with us; and often, when charged with a crime, they will say, "Do you think I am a *white man?*"'

'I suppose that most of the slaves brought from Africa, are captives taken by one tribe from another, in war?'

'Mr. Clarkson, I think, divides the slaves into seven classes. The most considerable class consists of kidnapped, or stolen Africans. In obtaining these, every species of injustice, treachery and cruelty are resorted to. This class, Mr. C. supposes, embraces one half of the whole number transported from Africa. The second class consists of those whose villages are set on fire and depopulated in the darkness of night, for the purpose of obtaining a portion of their inhabitants. The third class consists of those who have been convicted of crimes. The fourth, of prisoners in wars that originate from common causes, or in wars made solely for the purpose of procuring captives for slaves. The fifth, such as are slaves by birth. The sixth and seventh, such as have surrendered their liberty by reason of debt, or by other imprudences, which last, however, are comparatively few in number.'

'Are they taken principally near the coast, or are they from the interior?'

'They are sometimes brought a distance of a thousand miles; marched over land in droves, or caufles as they are called, secured from running away, by pieces of wood which yoke them together by the neck, two and two, or by other pieces fastened with staples to their arms.'

'They are then, I suppose, carried to the "slave-factories," and there sold in order to be shipped?'

'Some are carried to what are called slave-factories; others immediately to the shore, and conveyed in boats to the different ships whose captains have captured or purchas-

ed them. The men are confined on board the ship, two and two together, either by the neck, leg, or arm, with fetters of iron; and are put into apartments, the men occupying the forepart, the women the afterpart, and the children the middle. The tops of these apartments are grated for the admission of light and for ventilation when the weather is suitable for the gates to be uncovered, and are about three feet three inches in height, just sufficient space being allotted to each individual to sit in one posture, the whole stowed away like so much lumber.'

'Poor creatures!' said Caroline, 'how wretched they must feel, to find themselves in this situation, confined for transportation to a land of strangers and to a house of bondage—to scenes of ignominy and perpetual servitude. They must indeed feel wretched beyond expression. O how hard is the human heart!'

'It is said that many of them whilst the ships are waiting for their full lading, and whilst they are near their native shore which they are no more to set foot upon for ever, have been so depressed, and overwhelmed with such unsupportable distress, that they have been induced to die by their own hands. Others have become deranged and perfect maniacs, or have pined away and died with despairing, broken hearts.'

'Horrid! Are they kept in the confined situation you have described, during the whole passage, allowed no exercise nor access to the fresh air? I should think they would *all* die, Pa?'

'In the day-time, in fair weather, they are sometimes brought on deck. They are then placed in long rows on each side the ship, two and two together. As they are

The middle passage.

brought up from their apartments, a long chain is passed through the shackles of each couple, successively, and thus the whole row is fastened down to the deck. In this situation, they receive their food. After their coarse and meagre meal, a drum is beaten by one of the sailors, and at its sound the Negroes are all required to exercise, for their health, jumping in their chains as high as their fetters will let them; and if any refuse to exercise in this way, they are whipped until they comply. This jumping, the slave-merchants call "*dancing*."'

'I have read frequent accounts of these cruelties,' said Henry; 'and have understood, as I think you also told us, that the poor slaves suffer most in what is called "the middle passage:" that is, I suppose, the whole time they are on board ship after they sail?'

'Yes. It is the whole passage from the time the ship weighs anchor until she arrives at her destined port. On the passage, the situation of the slaves is, indeed, doubly deplorable, especially if the ship have a long passage, and is very full. A full-grown person is allowed, in the most commodious slave-ships, but sixteen inches in width, three feet three inches in height, and five feet eight inches in length. They lie in one crowded mass on the bare planks, and by the constant motion of the ship, are often chafed until their bones are almost bare, and their limbs covered with bruises and sores. The heat is often so great, and the air they breathe so poisoned with pestilence by the feverish exhalations of the suffering multitude, that nature can no longer sustain itself. It is no uncommon occurrence, to find, on each successive morning, some who have died during the night, in consequence of their suffering and confined situation. A large proportion of those who are shipped, die be-

fore they have crossed the ocean. Many also die soon after completing the voyage, from what is called "the seasoning;" that is, in becoming acclimated in the country to which they are carried.'

'Poor Africans! My heart bleeds at their sufferings,' said Caroline, whose eyes now suffused with tears; 'their home was, no doubt, a "sweet home" to them—as much to them, as ours is to us; and, perhaps, they were once as happy.'

'It is said that when the slave-holders first visited the western coast of Africa,' replied Mr. L., 'the country was most delightful. The coast was covered with villages, or thickly settled towns, which swarmed with inhabitants. Simple in their manners, amiable in their dispositions, in quiet enjoyment of the profuse bounties of nature, they are represented as exceeding happy.'

'They were not civilized?' interrupted Henry.

'No,' said Mr. L., 'they were not civilized according to *our* ideas of civilization; but they were a comparatively innocent, unoffending, contented, happy race. It was not until slave-dealers introduced among them every thing that could please the fancy and awaken the cupidity of uncivilized men, that they were at all prone to interfere with each other's happiness. By the more than brutal cruelty of white men, quarrels were fomented, tribe was set against tribe, and each supplied with the means of mutual destruction.'

'What proportion, Sir, of those who have been torn away from their home, are supposed to have died on the passage, or before their "seasoning" was over? There must have been an amazing sacrifice of human life in this traffic?'

'Of 100,000 Africans supposed to have been torn away by the hand of violence from their native clime, annually, *one third* are supposed to have *died on the passage and been consigned to a watery grave!* Another third are supposed to have died from "the seasoning," or from broken hearts.'

'So then, Henry,' said Caroline, turning to her brother, 'dreadful to think! upwards of 60,000 out of the 100,000 torn away from Africa every year, die almost immediately, in consequence of hard usage and the change of climate!'

'Yes,' continued Mr. L., 'more than 60,000, probably, die every year, in a few months after the galling chain of slavery is fastened upon them. Not a few of these, as I said before, die of broken hearts—not all from changes of climate, and hard usage.

'A multitude of the murdered sons of Africa, will, another day, appear at the bar of eternal justice, to witness against their cruel murderers! From depths of ocean alone, a vast army will appear when the sea shall give up its dead, crying for vengeance against their inhuman destroyers!

'It would be very easy to harrow up our feelings by reference to well-authenticated facts which show the cruelties attending the trade. If it were not already late, I would cite one instance, as a sample of the estimation in which human life is held by those miserable men who are engaged in the trade. As it is, I will defer it until to-morrow.'

CONVERSATION XII.

"Forth sprang the ambush'd ruffians on their prey;
They caught, they bound, they drove them far away;
The white man bought them at the mart of blood,
In pestilential barks they cross'd the flood;
Then were the wretched ones asunder torn,
To distant isles, to separate bondage borne,
Denied, though sought with tears, the sad relief
That misery loves—the fellowship of grief."—*Montgomery.*

The family were now together, and Caroline, having just risen from a short recreation upon the piano, seeing her father at leisure, reminded him that at the close of their last evening's conversation, he had 'promised to give them in the next conversation, facts showing the recklessness of slave-dealers in respect to the lives of their unhappy captives.'

'The case to which I designed to refer, as exemplifying the estimate in which the lives and happiness of their miserable victims are held, by the still more wretched, because guilty beings, who bring the poor Africans from their native land, to suffer in chains, and then to toil for strangers, and finally to die in bondage, is that of three slave-vessels captured some years since by the Dryad frigate. The account which appeared in the English papers was as follows:

"The Fair Rosamond and the Black Joke, tenders to the Frigate Dryad, have captured three slave vessels, which had originally 1100 slaves on board, but of which they succeeded in taking only 306 to Sierra Leone. It appears that the Fair Rosamond had captured a lugger with 160 Africans, and shortly after saw the Black Joke in chase of two other luggers. She joined in the chase, but the vessels succeeded in getting into the Bonny river, and landed 600 slaves before the tenders could take possession of them. They found on board only 200, but ascertained that *one hundred and eighty slaves, manacled together, had been thrown overboard*, of whom *only four were picked up.*" '

'O, shocking! a day of retribution surely must come for such hard-hearted monsters, such murderous fiends. *Why* is it that the christian world have ever tolerated such dreadful crimes, such worse than barbarous cruelty? It must be that Africans have not been regarded as men; and yet I should suppose such cruelties would hardly be practiced towards mere animals, by *humane* persons. Are not the cruelties attending the slave-trade, much less now than formerly?'

'It is said they are as great, and probably greater now than they have been at any former period. Obstacles have been thrown in the way of the traffic by the planting of colonies on the coast, and the vigilance of our own and of the English government has been somewhat increased, in order to detect and capture vessels engaged in the trade; but the slave-ships are numerous, and are said to be crowded to excess, and the mortality is dreadful. In 1824, 120,000 was ascertained to be about the number exported from the coast of Africa that year, and a list of the names of 218 vessels, believed to be engaged in the traffic, was given. In the year 1827, no less than 125 vessels sailed to Africa for slaves,

from Cuba alone. Previous to the establishment of the colony at Liberia, 2,000 slaves were exported annually from the single points of Cape Mount and Montserado.'

'Do you know, Pa,' Henry inquired, 'what is the average cost of slaves in Africa, to those who engage in the trade?'

'The prime cost of the miserable victims enslaved on the shores of Africa, and sold in Havana for between two and four and six hundred dollars each, is, I think, to those who engage in the traffic on the coast of Africa, a little more than one dollar "*a log!*" as is expressed in the inhuman jargon of the slaver, a log meaning a human body.'

'My mind,' Caroline here remarked, 'is continually reverting to the awful scenes of the first apprehension of the poor African, and of his adieu to his native land.'

Mr. L. thought that 'it would be impossible for our liveliest conceptions to portray the feelings of the poor slaves at those moments, or to tell the awful amount of that load of grief which continues for a long time to weigh down their hearts. We may imagine them turning their weeping eyes towards their native shores, at their departure, and associate with that last lingering look thoughts that overwhelm the mind; we may think of the unutterable desolation of the fond father or mother torn from the children of their love; the feelings of children forced away from their parents into hopeless exile; the pangs of separation between husbands and wives no more to meet this side the grave; but we have only a very inadequate idea after all of the bitterness of that cup of wo which they have to drink to the very dregs! It is difficult for us to bring such scenes, and such griefs, to our own doors and bosoms, and measure the sufferings of others

by what would be our own, placed in a similar condition. We are so accustomed to think disparagingly of the blacks, that our sympathy does not expand on this subject as on occasions where there is actually less to move our feelings. We have acquired a habit of looking upon Africans as not susceptible of like emotions with ourselves, and when their miseries are the theme, there is comparative indifference. We associate with the black skin a want of sensibility which observation and facts will by no means justify.

"Fleecy locks and black complexion
Cannot forfeit nature's claim;
Skins may differ, but affection
Dwells in white and black the same."

'You recollect, probably, the affecting case of the African chief captured and brought in chains to the Rio Pongas for for sale, some years ago? He was brother of Yaradee, the king of the Solima nation. His noble figure, and daring eye, and commanding front, bespoke a mind which knew no alternative, save freedom or ruin. He was exhibited for sale like a beast, in the market place, still adorned with ornaments of massy gold, as in the days of his glory. The tyrant who had seized and bound him, and now offered him for sale, demanded an enormous price of the chief or of his friends, as the condition of his being released, rather than sent in bondage to a far country. The warrior offered large sums for his redemption, but his *owner* refused to listen to the proposals. At length, distracted by the very thought of his degradation, tears stole from those eyes that never wept before, and he entreated those around him to cut his hair, which had long been permitted to grow, and which was platted with peculiar care, in which wedges of gold were concealed; and these treasures he laid at the feet of his keeper to obtain a ransom. All, however, was in vain.

The wretch who held him was inexorable. He gave the chief to understand that he should take care of the gold, and get as much gold for him as he could besides. Dark despair settling upon the soul of the noble captive, "then burst his mighty heart." In a moment, as if by an instant stroke from on high, his faculties were shattered. Unable to sustain himself under the workings of his wounded spirit, he became a furious maniac; and then suddenly withered and perished! He had never trembled in fields of blood and death; but he could not endure the thought of servitude and chains.'

'I recollect the story,' said Henry, 'and I recollect some lines which appeared soon after the occurrence, entitled

THE AFRICAN CHIEFTAIN.

"And must this mighty spirit yield,
This robust frame give up its breath,
Not nobly on the bloody field
Where valour sinks in death?
But bound with an inglorious chain,
The scorn of every coward slave?
The thought is madness—I disdain
To die but with the brave.

Break! break these fetters! and I'll bring
A precious treasure to your hand—
Know, I'm the brother of a king
Who rules a golden land.
These massy rings assert my fame,
I've wealth concealed within my hair—
More shall be yours, if more you claim,
But save me from despair!

Thus spoke the Chieftain, and the tear
Stole silent down his manly face;
Not death, not death, he cried, I fear—
I fear but this disgrace!

Bold mountains of my native land,
I'm lost—nor ever more shall see
Those rugged heights, that daring stand,
And say we shall be free.

O give me drink, my hopes are dead,
In mercy break this cursed chain;
Act like the lion, take my head,
But not prolong my pain.
Souls of the mighty Chiefs, whose blood
Flow'd freely on that dreadful day,
You saw my deeds, how firm I stood,
Take, take this chain away."

'The memory of the incident has been preserved in my mind,' said C., 'by some elegant and pathetic stanzas from the pen of William Cullen Bryant. As we happen to be in the vein of poetry now, and as Mr. Bryant's admirable genius for poetry is acknowledged both in our own country and in Europe, I will repeat, in my turn, a few lines, with your permission, Pa?'

'Certainly: Mr. Bryant's poetry is always good.'

THE AFRICAN CHIEF.

"Chain'd in the market-place he stood,
A man of giant frame,
Amid the gathering multitude
That shrunk to hear his name.
All stern of look and strong of limb,
His dark eye on the ground;
And silently they gazed on him,
As on a lion bound.

Vainly but well the chief had fought,
He was a captive now,
Yet pride, that fortune humbles not,
Was written on his brow;
The scars his dark, broad bosom wore,
Show'd warrior true and brave:
A prince among his tribe before,
He could not be a slave.

Then to his conqueror he spake—
"My brother is a king;
Undo this necklace from my neck,
And take this bracelet ring,
And send me where my brother reigns,
And I will fill thy hands
With stores of ivory from the plains,
And gold dust from the sands."

"Not for thy ivory or thy gold
Will I unbind thy chain;
That bloody hand shall never hold
The battle spear again.
A price thy nation never gave
Shall yet be paid for thee;
For thou shalt be the *Christian's!* slave,
In land beyond the sea."

Then wept the warrior chief, and bade
To shred his locks away;
And one by one, each heavy braid
Before the victor lay.
Thick were the plaited locks, and long,
And deftly hidden there,
Shone many a wedge of gold among
The dark and crisped hair.

"Look! feast thy greedy eye with gold
Long kept for sorest need,
Take it—thou askest sums untold—
And say that I am freed:
Take it—my wife, the long, long day
Weeps by the cocoa tree,
And my young children leave their play,
And ask in vain for me."

"I take thy gold—but I have made
Thy fetters fast and strong;
And ween that by the cocoa shade,
Thy wife shalt wait thee long."
Strong was the agony that shook
The captive's frame to hear,
And the proud meaning of his look
Was changed to mortal fear.

His heart was broken—crazed his brain—
  At once his eye grew wild,
He struggled fiercely with his chain,
  Whisper'd, and wept, and smil'd;
Yet wore not long those fatal bands;
  And once at shut of day,
They drew him forth upon the sands,
  The foul Hyena's prey."

CONVERSATION XIII.

"I pass with haste by the coast of Africa, whence my mind turns with indignation at the abominable traffic in the human species, from which a part of our countrymen dare to derive their most inauspicious wealth."

Sir William Jones.

'AGAIN we will turn our attention, for a short time, if you please, my dear children, to the slave-trade.'

'Has not public opinion undergone a very great change, Pa, in regard to the slave-trade within a few years?' inquired Caroline.

'The change has been great, indeed,' said Mr. L. 'Once there were hardly a few to be found to make any effort whatever for Africa's relief. She was bleeding at every pore, but none commiserated her distress. She saw and there was none to help—she looked, and there was none to drop even the tear of pity over her miseries. Public opinion has been changing silently but rapidly in Great Britain and America for many years. Every passing year, the revolution in sentiment, has been more and more apparent.

'In 1776, whilst the sensibilities of the public were much excited by the fact that 132 living slaves had been thrown

overboard from a vessel engaged in the trade, DAVID HARTLEY, a member of the British Parliament, laid upon the table of the House of Commons, fetters that had been used in confining the unhappy victims of this traffic on board of slave-ships, and moved a Resolution, "That the trade [was] contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man."

'In 1787, the Constitution of the United States fixed a period for the abolition of the trade, which by act of Congress became a law in 1808, prohibiting the farther introduction of slaves into the States.

'In 1807, Wilberforce made his first motion in Parliament for the abolition of the slave-trade, which motion was renewed annually in Parliament for twenty years, until at length it was enacted that after March, 1808, no slaves should be imported into the British dominions.

'On the 2d day of March, 1807, an act was passed by the Congress of the United States, the first section of which enacts, "That after the first day of January, 1808, it shall not be lawful to import or bring into the United States, or the territories thereof, from any foreign kingdom, place, or country, any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, with intent to hold, sell or dispose of such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, as a slave, or to be sold at service or labour."

'At length, the Dutch, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Brazilians made enactments against the traffic. France also denounced it, and Austria declared that the moment a slave touches an Austrian ship, he is free. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the sovereigns there present, and the States represented, pledged themselves to the suppression of the trade. And on the 23d of March, 1830, the prosecution of the slave-trade ceased to be lawful for the citizens or subjects of any christian power in Europe or America.

'The late universal emancipation of slaves by the British government in their West India colonies, which took effect, August 1, 1834, is another most important step in the development of a right feeling in relation to this subject, and I cannot but hope, notwithstanding all unfavourable circumstances, that a very few years will have brought to pass all that we would claim of freedom, for slaves every where, and for the continent of Africa.'

'But if I have understood you, Pa, you have said that the slave-trade is yet carried on extensively?'

'I am sorry to say that it is, Caroline, notwithstanding the obligations of laws and treaties to the contrary.

'When the United States, in connexion with England, declared the slave-trade to be piracy, and forbade the further introduction of slaves into their possessions, the friends of humanity indulged the hope that a death-blow was about to be given to the traffic. Other nations, by important measures, encouraged the hope. The event, however, has caused great disappointment. I have before stated some of the slavery statistics, showing the state of the trade in 1824, and in 1827. From a document which I have seen, it also appears that from 1820 to 1831, no less than 322,526 slaves were imported into the single port of Rio Janeiro alone. By very recent documents, it appears that the abominable traffic is still carried on to a considerable extent in Brazil. The fact that the trade is now generally denounced, and declared illegal, and although it be declared by every christian government piratical, will not alone be sufficient to destroy, or even materially to lessen the trade.

'Armed vessels may be sent to cruise off the coast, as they now do, to capture the slave-ships; but experience proves that no squadron will be likely effectually to prevent

the trade, without the aid of settlements of civilized and christianized communities along the coast. Thousands of little rivers, and bays, that indent the shores of Africa, either refuse to admit our ships into their shallow waters, whilst they afford lurking and hiding places for those concerned in the traffic and well acquainted with the geography of the country, or enable the slaver being pursued, to elude the search. If any one factory, mart, or haunt, be broken up, word is immediately sent by the traders into the country, that slaves must be brought to some less frequented and unsuspected part of the coast which is designated, and there they are received with impunity, the traders with their vessels lying concealed perhaps under the woody banks of unknown winding streams.

'It has been supposed, therefore, that colonies established along the coast are indispensable to the entire extinction of the trade. Twenty or thirty colonies scattered along the coast, it is said, would put an end to the trade effectually and for ever. The native chiefs of Sherbro district, through a strong desire to be shielded from the ravages of the slave-trade, presented one hundred miles of coast, southward of Sierra Leone, to the colony; and it is stated that all the coast in the vicinity of that place is now cleared of slave-factories and slave-vessels. Several native chiefs in the vicinity of the Liberian colony have desired arrangements to be entered into with them for the security of that part of the coast, and are hoping for as favourable results. The New-York and Pennsylvania colony at Bassa Cove, it is anticipated, will be an efficient coadjutor with those already named, in extending a christian influence in Africa, and in hastening the day when the traffic in human flesh and blood will end.'

'What is there, then, Sir, to prevent the formation of co-

lonies like those that now exist, along the whole coast? It would, I suppose, be a great work—but is it not worthy of great effort?'

'Many are hoping and praying and labouring for such a result, Caroline. I shall have occasion to refer to this subject again in a future conversation. It will be consistent with the plan which I have proposed for these conversations, to turn our attention now again to the evils of slavery as it exists in our own country.

'We have seen how slavery was introduced here, at an unfavourable moment, the planters consulting their immediate profit and regardless of future consequences and so falling in with the policy of England, and how slavery was still forced on these colonies in spite of remonstrance, the final welfare of America being an object of minor importance compared with the increase of the commerce of the mother country, and the immediate supply of the English treasury.

'In 1772, the Assembly of Virginia went so far as to set forth, in a respectful petition to his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, the inhumanity of the slave-trade, and to suggest that it might "endanger the very existence of his American dominions." This warning is the more remarkable, inasmuch as it came from the first colony the English ever had in America, and one already involved in the evils of slavery; and it was yet more remarkable in the *event*—for the American colonies existed a very little time after that warning, a part of the dominions of the monarch who would not deign even an answer to the petitioners. The warning were *prophetic*, if we might judge alone from the event.'

'Virginia, I have seen it suggested by one of her orators,

"prides herself" that she has ever pursued the same course in relation to this matter,' said Henry.

'Virginia certainly deserves credit. During her colonial existence, when it was the determined policy of England to introduce as many slaves as possible into Virginia, her House of Burgesses passed no less than twenty-three acts tending to suppress the horrible traffic in slaves; all which acts were negatived by the king!

'In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, one of her most gifted sons, Mr. Jefferson, inserted a heart-stirring passage, charging the conduct of the king in putting his veto on these enactments for the suppression of the slave-trade, as a *crime*, aggravated by Lord Dunmore's endeavouring to stir up the slaves in the colonies against us. This clause was stricken out finally, because it was ascertained that it could not obtain the assent of all the States.

'In 1778, as soon as Virginia found herself in a situation to do it, although in the midst of a civil war, she made the African slave-trade punishable by death. And it was at her instance also that the act of Congress was passed, declaring it piracy, subjecting the offender to capture and punishment in any court of any nation which should pass the same law. So far has Virginia the merit of having maintained her claims to "the noble, the humane, and the adventurous for the right." Nor does she now fall behind any State in the Union in her professed abhorrence of slavery, and in a professed and apparent desire to see the country free from slavery's stain. Virginia, in common with the rest of the South, sees, or thinks she sees difficulties in the way of immediate and universal emancipation, which we in the non-slave-holding States, do not, all of us, appreciate; but we can hardly avoid giving her credit for uniformity of practice, honesty of

purpose, and a true desire to see slavery extinct in our land.

'It was the movements of Virginia in the correspondence which she authorized between her Governor, (since President Monroe,) and Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, a copy of which is before me, attested by William Wirt, then clerk of the Virginia House of Delegates, which led to the formation of the American Colonization Society, and to the founding of civilized and christian colonies in Africa.'

'Did none of the other States, at an early period, adopt measures in relation to this subject?'

'Yes, Henry, Virginia was earliest in setting the example for the exclusion of imported slaves; but a duty on the importation of slaves was laid by New-York, in 1753; by Pennsylvania, in 1762; and by New-Jersey, in 1769.

'In 1780, Pennsylvania passed a law for the gradual abolition of slavery, which has the merit of being the earliest legislative proceeding of the kind in any country. All the States north and east of Maryland, have since passed similar laws.

'At a very early period, the free-holders and inhabitants of the counties of Somerset and Essex, in New-Jersey, presented similar petitions to that of Virginia in 1772, to the Governor, Council, and Representatives of the Province, against the slave-trade. The inhabitants of the city and county of Philadelphia also petitioned their Assembly against the slave-trade, citing the example set them by the Province of Virginia, in petitioning the king "from a deep sensibility of the danger and pernicious consequences which would be attendent on a continuation of the iniquitous traffic."

'On the adoption of the Federal Constitution, Congress

was authorized to prohibit, at the end of twenty years, the importation of slaves into any part of the United States; which power was exercised at the appointed time.'

'No slaves, then, have been legally brought into the United States since the year 1808?' said Caroline. 'I wish Congress had felt authorized to go one step further, and had fixed a time for the abolition of slavery in our land. We should not then be the reproach of the nations. England especially, I notice, is severe in her allusions.'

'England,' Mr. L. remarked, 'has of late appeared disposed to do what she can to retrace the wrongs she has occasioned in her West India colonies. It were well if she could undo *all* the evil she has done. It has always been easy for her to make enactments in relation to her *distant colonies;* but I fear that placed in precisely the situation in which by her reckless avarice she has involved us, the poor slaves might find as tardy justice at her hands as she charges upon us. 'Legislation for the government of others, is despatched sooner and with much less difficulty, than when the enactments are to call for sacrifices on our own part. But Britain should neither be reproached in this matter, nor utter reproaches against others. Reproach uttered by her against this country, comes from *her*, surely, with peculiar *ill grace.* She has done well, I hope it will be found, both for Africans and for her West India colonies in directing emancipation. We will commend her for the good done, and pray that all her influence may favour the cause of Africa for the time to come. Her example, it may also be hoped, will influence us to love and good works. Let her remember, however, that it becomes her to be very sparing of reproaches in her allusions to us.'

Caroline here said she would acknowledge that her patriotism tempted her to covet for her country, the honour

which England enjoys of being first in the work of universal emancipation, notwithstanding these reproaches.

'That is intended as a cutting remark, Caroline,' said Henry, 'which we were noticing this morning, from the pen of Mr. C. Stewart, who, I believe, is an Englishman:—"Shall the United States—the free United States, which could not bear the bonds of a king, cradle the bondage which a king is abolishing? Shall a Republic be less free than a Monarchy? Shall we, in the vigour and buoyancy of our manhood, be less energetic in righteousness, than a kingdom in its age?"'

'There is much point too in those lines of Whittier,' said Caroline:

"Shall every flap of England's flag
Proclaim that all around are free,
From 'farthest Ind' to each blue crag
That beetles o'er the Western Sea?
And shall we scoff at Europe's kings,
When Freedom's fire is dim with us,
And round our country's altar clings
The damning shade of Slavery's curse?

Go—let us ask of Constantine
To loose his grasp on Poland's throat—
And beg the lord of Mahmoud's line
To spare the struggling Suliote.
Will not the scorching answer come
From turbaned Turk and fiery Russ—
'Go, loose your fettered slaves at home,
Then turn and ask the like of us?'"

Mr. L. thought we should take an enlightened view of the subject, and not be too much influenced by the sound of words, whilst regardless of the real facts and circumstances of the case; but, feeling fatigued, proposed they should now defer the conversation until to-morrow; and, said he, as the bell rung for the domestics to come in to evening prayers, 'we will remember Africa, and remember our country too, in our devotions.'

The government of the U. S. cannot legislate for individual States.

CONVERSATION XIV.

"We have found that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union, and has been prejudicial to all the States in which it has existed."

James Monroe.

'Well, Caroline and Henry, I have another hour for Africa—and if you please, we will resume the subject of our conversation.'

Both responded at once, 'With pleasure, Pa.'

'Is it not generally supposed, Pa,' Henry inquired, 'that the United States, as a nation, cannot in good faith interfere with the question of slavery in the several States where slavery exists?'

'I believe that it is generally agreed among statesmen,' said Mr. L., 'that the time and manner of abolishing slavery within the limits of individual states, must be left to their own voluntary deliberations. The federal government, it is conceded, has no control over this subject: it concerns rights of property secured by the federal compact, upon which our liberties mainly depend. It is a part of the collection of political rights, the least invasion of any one of which would, of course, impair the tenure by which every other is held. An unconstitutional interference would, therefore, be most disastrous in its results.

'When the federal compact was formed, the entire abolition of slavery was a favourite object with many; but they knew that this point, or the Union, must be surrendered. As much as they loved liberty, and as ardently as they condemned personal slavery, they had no other alternative but to leave it as they found it, existing at the South, or fail of the great desideratum of *an union of the States*. A *compromise* was therefore effected. The South *conceded* that in twenty years the slave-trade should be abolished; and the North conceded that the CONSTITUTION should secure to the South a representation in Congress of three-fifths of their slave population, and that each State should be bound to surrender to the citizens of other States such fugitive slaves as should be found within their limits. In addition to which, it was provided that the United States shall interpose, on requisition of either of the States, to protect its citizens against *domestic violence*. These principles are fully recognized by the constitution, and as good citizens, we are bound to respect them, so long as they remain a part of the constitution.

'In the amendments to the constitution, the effect of these provisions is confirmed, by the declaration that all powers not conceded to the United States, nor prohibited to either of the States, by the constitution, *remain* in the *separate* States. Hence, it is inferred, that as the constitution gives no control on this subject, the regulation of domestic slavery, which was the exclusive right of the Southern States before the constitution, remains with them, as one of the powers not transferred to the United States. The legal construction is, therefore, that the South who hold slaves, retain the right of exclusive regulation over them, which right the United States cannot touch.

'The constitution, as it now stands, renders it as improper,

it is contended, and as unavailing, for the non-slave-holding States to attempt to interfere with the regulations of the Southern States touching their slaves, as it would be for us to attempt to regulate the arrangements of the British House of Commons, or the doings of the French Chambers. And if the United States cannot, under the constitution, interfere with the regulations of slavery at the South, still less can any single State do so.

'This is, I believe, a fair state of the case, nearly in the precise language which has been sometimes employed by distinguished civilians on the question of State rights.'

'May not the constitution be *amended?*'

'It may; but an amendment in this matter, would, doubtless, result in a separation of the States. We, then, have no means of reaching the evil we propose to remedy. The South will become to us a foreign government, and we shall have no means of influencing the Southern States in regard to their slave population, more than we now have of influencing legislation on this subject in the island of Cuba. The question, therefore, seems to be, shall we have a union of States, or shall we shipwreck the whole on the question of slavery?

'Many suppose that, in this dilemma, we should exercise a spirit of forbearance, and do as our patriotic forefathers did in their determination of the same question. And they are encouraged to assume this position from the well known fact that there is an increasing disposition at the South to be rid of the evil of slavery, and because they hope that the time is very near when there will be some happy, united, harmonious and final movement on this subject. Many also believe that a disposition on the part of the North to interfere in this matter, has been the greatest obstacle in the way of a

general movement in the South, and most injurious to the slave, whose condition it is the object of such interference to improve.'

'As Congress have control over the District of Columbia, I see not why slavery may not be abolished *there*.'

'The United States, it is true, may enact such laws as may seem expedient for the government of the District of Columbia. Many regard it as a dark reproach upon our nation that, by the laws of the United States, the slave-trade is permitted to be carried on there. It has been said that the District of Columbia is "the principal mart of the slave-trade in the Union," and that the public prisons of the District, are used for the benefit of the slave-traders, "slaves being confined in their cells for safe-keeping, until the drove, or cargo, of human beings can be completed!" But even this reproach, which has been declared on the floor of Congress, by a distinguished Representative from New-York, "unchristian, unholy, and unjust; not warranted by the laws of God, and contrary to the assertion in our Declaration of Independence, that 'all men are created equal,'" others contend is perpetuated by injudicious movements, which make the question of slavery so deeply exciting, that the matter cannot at present be discussed with the desired success, and with safety to the Union, or benefit to the slave.'

'But, Pa,' said H., 'we cannot but be interested, deeply interested in the subject, although it is a question that affects the South, more especially. All admit that slavery is a great evil, and must also allow that it afflicts our whole country. It is a national blot, inconsistent with our professions, and the constant occasion of alienation between different portions of our country.'

'For my part, Henry,' said Mr. L., 'I feel more than ever inclined to view all the States as one united whole, and hope that, as a whole, they will long be consecrated in the affections of every patriot.

"This is my own, my native land,"

is a sentiment we should all feel, and expresses a feeling which I am sure true patriots will love to cherish.'

'But I really think, Pa,' said Caroline, 'that the South are quite exorbitant in their claims, if they require us to be either indifferent to slavery, or silent and inactive when we think duty to our country, our Southern brethren, or to the slave, calls for decision and action.'

'I certainly, think, Caroline, that there is a great degree of sensitiveness on this subject at the South, and they may, in some instances, seem to require too much: but I also think that, situated as they are, they have much to awaken their suspicions; and that although they cannot reasonably expect us to be indifferent either to their situation, our country's good, or the slave's best interests, and probably do not claim this of us, we are bound to support the constitution, and to respect the rights which it secures to a portion of our fellow-citizens composing a part of the Union notwithstanding. It appears to me that we are also bound by the spirit of the constitution, as well as by christian principles, and the feelings of humanity, to abstain from all inflammatory publications whose direct tendency is to excite insurrection, and which are an infringement of those rights which the constitution acknowledges and guarantees. An opposite course may justly be regarded as injurious, not only to the whites, but to the slave, whose condition we desire to improve. By

publications or movements tending to excite insurrection, we drive the holders of slaves to extremities—to enactments and to rigorous treatment of the slaves; even, as we have seen, shutting from them the light of life, and withholding the ordinary means of instruction—that is, if all their enactments are meant to be strictly enforced.'

'I suppose that Caroline,' said Henry, 'refers to an article we were noticing this morning, in a Southern paper, which asserts, that "the North has nothing to do with this subject of black population, and all their solicitude about it, is meddling and officious."

'The evil is ours as well as theirs. The multitude of blacks which the severe legislation of the South drives into the free States, alone attests that we have a share in the evil. The reproaches which are cast upon our national honour, tell us that we have something to do with slavery. The convulsions which reach the very extremities of our land, and often seize upon the very heart of this great republic, and anger our national discussions, and give a character to important events and measures, show that we may not be indifferent to the slave question. It has been remarked by a distinguished scholar, that "diseased members affect the entire physical system. Soundness is to be restored to the limbs, not by excision, which would both destroy them, and hazard the entire body; but by a general return of health, and a genial circulation to the whole."

'Another reason why I consider the evil as ours, is that the *guilt* of slavery is ours. We are too ready to appropriate it all to our Southern brethren: but we have no power or right thus to wash our hands. From the *North* have gone ships and seamen and traders in human flesh, that have been polluted by the inhuman traffic, and the "pieces of sil-

ver" gained by them have been apportioned at the North. In the North were the forges which framed fetters and manacles for the limbs of oppressed and unoffending Africans. It was the iron of the North that pierced their anguished souls: and overgrown fortunes and proud palaces at the North still stand, reared from the blood and sufferings of unhappy slaves, which tell that the North have shared largely in the accursed spoils.

'Besides, there is little room for boasting on our part, when it is considered that the different physical features and agricultural productions of the South and North have, as we have every reason to believe, more than the force or absence of proper moral feeling, banished slavery from the one, and perpetuated it in the other. Had New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, or even New-England produced cotton, rice, indigo, and sugar, it is not improbable that slavery would have continued in these States and increased its numbers here to this very hour. The same may be supposed, without uncharitableness, of the new States north of the Ohio, and east of the Mississippi.

'There can be no good reason, I conceive, why, by fair argument, by our best influence, and by our pecuniary resources, we should not aim to promote the cause of patriotism and humanity, in civilizing and converting Africa, and in rendering mutual benefits to the oppressed among us, and to our beloved country. Nor should this be regarded by the South as unrighteous interference, or unkindness. Great wisdom, however, is to be used in this matter.

'It was you, Henry, if I recollect, who were repeating, a few days since, some lines as an appeal to the North. Will you repeat them now, as they are not an unappropriate conclusion of this part of our discussion?'

'They were written by Mrs. Sigourney, and are entitled

AN APPEAL TO NEW ENGLAND.

"When injur'd Afric's captive claim,
Loads the sad gale with startling moan,
The frown of deep, indignant blame,
Bends not on *Southern* climes alone.

Her toil, and chain, and scalding tear,
Our daily board with luxuries deck,
And to dark slavery's yoke severe
Our fathers help'd to bow her neck.

If slumbering in the thoughtful breast,
Or justice, or compassion dwell;
Call from their couch the hallowed guest,
The deed to prompt, the prayer to swell:

Oh, lift the hand, and Peace shall bear
Her olive where the palm-tree grows,
And torrid Afric's deserts share
The fragrance of Salvation's rose.

But if, with Pilate's stoic eye,
We calmly *wash* when blood is spilt,
Or deem a cold, unpitying sigh
Absolves us from the stain of guilt;

Or if, like Jacob's recreant train,
Who traffic'd in a brother's wo,
We hear the suppliant plead in vain,
Or mock his tears that wildly flow;

Will not the judgments of the skies,
Which threw a shield round Joseph sold,
Be roused by fetter'd Afric's cries,
And change to dross the oppressor's gold?"

CONVERSATION XV.

"If the measure is, as we believe it to be, essentially national; then we are all interested, and should be deeply concerned for its success."

Gov. Trimble.

'I DO not see, Pa, why it should be a question to whom the duty belongs of helping forward this good cause; nor why every citizen may not esteem it a privilege and an honour to do justice to injured Africa; especially when, in performing this duty, we act a filial part towards our own country.'

'The debt which we owe to Africa, is, indeed, a national debt; and we are all interested in its liquidation. If, instead of mutual recrimination, South and North, East and West, could combine their wisdom and benevolence to devise ways and means for the ultimate and speedy removal of the evil, and if there could be mutual confidence between the different sections of our country in respect to this matter, I see not why the legislatures of the several States then taking the lead, our National Congress might not come up to the work and offer that national atonement which every consideration of justice and humanity would commend, and which would reflect bright honour on the generation that should do the deed. For this, if the South prepare

the way, by her own action and example, I am sure the other States will not be backward in their duty; and the debt which as a nation we owe to Africa, may be speedily cancelled by us as a nation.'

'Why, Sir, is it necessary that the South should move first in this matter?'

'I know not that there is any other necessity in the case than that of expediency and propriety. It appears to be a point universally conceded by statesmen, that the continuance, or removal of slavery, is solely within the power of the domestic legislation of the State in which it exists. It is very evident, therefore, that we can accomplish nothing by any measures on our part, except as the South approves; whilst it is equally evident that any measures on our part of a coercive nature, or calculated to disturb the domestic arrangements of the South, would be a violation of our political contract and of good faith.'

'But, Pa, you do not think that the subject of slavery ought *not* to be discussed even publicly if we please; and that no arguments should be used by us with our Southern brethren to encourage and persuade them to correct views and early action in respect to a final and general emancipation?'

'Certainly not. Dr. Channing, whatever discrepancies are found in his recent work, has clearly expressed my views on this subject: "Slavery ought to be discussed. We ought to think, feel, speak, and write about it. But whatever we do in regard to it, should be done with a deep feeling of responsibility, and so done as not to put in jeopardy the peace of the slave-holding States. On this point public opinion has not been, and cannot be too strongly pro-

nounced. * * To instigate the slave to insurrection is a crime for which no rebuke and no punishment can be too severe. * * It is not enough to say, that the constitution is violated by any action endangering the slave-holding portion of our country. A higher law than the constitution forbids this unholy interference. Were our National Union dissolved, we ought to reprobate, as sternly as we now do, the slightest manifestation of a disposition to stir up a servile war. Still more, were the free and the slave-holding States not only separated, but engaged in the fiercest hostilities, the former would deserve the abhorrence of the world, and the indignation of heaven, were they to resort to insurrection and massacre as means of victory."

'The right of discussion is sometimes claimed in a sense which is far from reasonable; and there is often in connexion with this claim a disposition to go beyond the law for a rule of action, and to justify that which the law and public opinion condemns. There is indeed an alarming propensity among men at the present day, to set all rightful authority at defiance, under the dangerous pretence that the end justifies the means. Even that liberty of speech which is justified by law, it is not always expedient to exercise; and that which is clearly inexpedient, although not condemned in civil law, is morally wrong.'

'But, suppose,' said Henry, 'that I find slavery forbidden in holy Scripture, and am impressed with the belief that, regardless of consequences, I ought to assist and favour the slave, and on all occasions, to resist and lift up my voice against the institution?'

'If we suppose this, we suppose one thing which it may be very difficult to prove; and another which, if reality, might be altogether insufficient to convince the world that

your *impressions* have any claim to an inspiration from above, or that they clothe you with any authority to trample under foot the rules of propriety and morality, and the laws of the land. It will never do for us to be guided by the vagaries of the human intellect. One person thinks that there should be a community of property; another that the law of marriage is a monopoly, and that all contracts under that law should cease at the will of the parties; another believes the law which punishes the felon with death, involves the whole State in guilt, and that capital punishments should be resisted: suppose that each claims an unrestricted right of discussion, and becomes the open and fearless advocate for his peculiar opinion and its legitimate fruits, would such a course show proper respect either for civil law, or the law of God which requires that we render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are his? The Scriptures do not undertake to legislate for the nations in respect to their domestic economy; nor do they, in any case, decide the question of property, even although the question relate to an *alleged right* to the *service of our fellow-man*. They recognize slavery as existing under the Mosaic dispensation, and also under the christian dispensation, and direct in respect to the duties of masters and of servants and slaves, without, as I can see, in all this, either sanctioning slavery as just, or treating it with direct censure.

'What the law of our land is, in relation to slavery, you well know. As slavery "has existed, in all time, in the fairest regions of the earth, and among the most civilized portions of mankind," so it has been recognized and sustained by law. "Our own government, not long since, made a claim on Great Britain for the value of the *property* of citizens of the United States in some hundred human

slaves. The principle was admitted by the English nation; the amount to be paid was referred to the arbitration of the Emperor of Russia; the claim was allowed, and the money received and distributed to the claimants for their loss of property in slaves." The principle is acknowledged and guaranteed by our constitution; and the fact is recognized, and the existence of such property acknowledged as often as a runaway slave is taken, on the application of his master, in the non-slave-holding States. "Our Supreme Court, referring to the period when slavery was recognized here by law, has in numerous instances adjudicated important rights on the doctrine that where slavery does exist or has existed by the law of the land, such law did admit, and must now be deemed to admit, the existence of property in human beings." Property is thus considered "the creature of municipal law;" and, indeed, property of no kind exists without law. The laws may be unwise, impolitic, unjust, and cruel; but still they have their effect; and although "arguments may very properly be urged to prove that the laws ought to be changed," yet no action can be tolerated in society which, while the laws stand, goes to make them "inoperative and void." Good order requires an observance of the laws so long as they remain.

'The mere right of discussion is unquestionable. It is well declared to be "one of the elements of public liberty;" and the South require too much, if they demand of us that we shall abstain from the free discussion of any subject whatever. Still, the legal right, "like all other human rights, is to be controlled by a high moral responsibility;" and, there are cases where "the expediency of the exercise of such rights may become matter of most grave consideration." It is very clear that sweeping denunciations, harsh aspersions, and threatening invective, are always calculated

" to produce obduracy in error and resentment for indignity, sustaining a man in his vices even, by motives of supposed self-respect." Slavery is now permitted in fifteen States and Territories; and the amount of property claimed in the slaves in these States and Territories by five millions of freemen, is not less than *five hundred millions of dollars*—some estimates say $800,000,000! And the subject calls for much consideration and forbearance on our part, lest by our injudicious movements we protract the evil which we desire to see come to an end. In seeking the accomplishment of any great object, common prudence dictates that we take mankind as they are, and not as we would have them.

'It is an indubitable fact, in my own view, that such may, through the force of circumstances, become the state of society, that great moral evils may be tolerated when the conviction is clear that acts of prohibition would produce evils far more extensive and much more to be deprecated. So deranged and disordered, or complicate, by the practice, or misfortunes, of a former age, may become the very texture of society; and so peculiar the relations which as a people we sustain to each other, that an *immediate* and *entire* correction of the evil may be impracticable, and that therefore neither individuals nor society are bound to attempt it. Such a state of things, however, can be no excuse for crime, nor for that indifference or cupidity that would tolerate the evil for ever, or withhold proper effort for its gradual, judicious, and effectual removal.'

'The supposition which I made, was *only* a supposition,' said Henry; 'the country has been greatly agitated of late by the subject of slavery. It neither seems to me right to interfere with the Southern relations, nor to resort to violence to suppress the liberty of speech.'

'The acts of illegal violence and shameful outrage which have grown out of the excitement kindled on this subject, in whatever part of the Union, cannot be too strongly deplored, nor too severely censured.'

'Why,' said Caroline, 'did not our fathers, when our independence was asserted, and its acknowledgment obtained from the mother country, make provision for the final emancipation of slaves, in the Constitution?'

'On this subject, Gov. Everett of Massachusetts has spoken, and I will give you his words:—

"It was deemed a point of the highest public policy, by the non-slave-holding States, notwithstanding the existence of slavery in their sister States, to enter with them into the present Union, on the basis of the constitutional compact. That no Union could have been formed, on any other basis, is a fact of historical notoriety; and it is asserted in terms, by General Hamilton, in the reported debates in the New-York Convention for adopting the Constitution.

"This compact," Gov. E. continues, "expressly recognizes the existence of slavery; and concedes to the States where it prevails the most important rights and privileges connected with it. Every thing that tends to disturb the relations created by this compact is at war with its spirit; and whatever, by direct and necessary operation, is calculated to excite an insurrection among the slaves, has been held, by highly respectable legal authority, an offence against the peace of the commonwealth, which may be prosecuted as a misdemeanor at common law. Although opinions may differ on this point, it would seem the safer course, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, to imitate the example of our fathers—the Adamses, the Hancocks, and other eminent patriots of the Revolution; who,

although fresh from the battles of liberty, and approaching the question as essentially an open one, deemed it nevertheless expedient to enter into a union with our brothers of the slave-holding States, on the principle of forbearance and toleration on this subject."'

'It is not strange, Sir, that the South are unwilling that strangers should intermeddle with this part of their domestic concerns. Reasons are obvious to my mind now, which did not present themselves before.'

'We all know with what tenacity mankind are wont to cling to the possession of whatever is called property. Eight hundred millions (for we have to do with facts, not theories in this case,) is a vast amount, and in whatever light we may regard the justice of the claim to the kind of property in question, the relinquishment of it would doubtless be regarded as an enormous sacrifice.

'It has been calculated that putting down the estimate at one half the lowest value put upon this species of property at the South, that is, at 250 millions only, instead of 800 millions; the relinquishment of this amount by about four millions of freemen, would be equivalent to a tax of more than one hundred millions of dollars on the six New-England States; and divided, it would be upwards of thirty-six millions of dollars for the State of Massachusetts alone; and four and a half millions of dollars would, if the amount were assessed, fall upon the city of Boston. If the amount were divided, the whole United States, North and South, agreeing to pay the amount by a general assessment for the indemnity of the slave-holders, which I think would be just, the quota for the city of Boston alone would be nearly one million and eight hundred thousand dollars: and the State of Massachusetts must contribute seventeen millions

and a half. Says the gentleman of Boston, the author of 'Remarks on Dr. Channing's Slavery,' who makes this calculation, "I have all reasonable faith in the generosity, the spirit and the nobleness of my fellow-citizens, but if it were asked of them to take this immense amount and pour it as a votive gift into the ocean, or gather it and burn it on their lofty hills as a beacon-fire in honour of freedom and to relieve the Southern slaves from their bondage, who ventures to believe he would live long enough to see the consummation of so much moral glory? * * * If here then, where there is such an abhorrence of slavery, where there is so much high principle, where so many think it morally wrong, there would be found some difficulty in obtaining a contribution large enough to purchase ease to our own consciences, by relieving the country of this iniquity, what may be expected in the slave districts, where there is no such feeling, and of whose freemen we ask not to *contribute* merely, but to take upon themselves the whole load—to reduce themselves to want—their families to beggary and their country to ruin?"'

'Still, *I* hope,' said Caroline, 'that we may live to see the day when our whole country will be ready to engage unitedly and harmoniously in this good work.'

'I would fain indulge the hope,' said Mr. L., 'notwithstanding all that is now most discouraging. We must remember, however, that if slavery is to be brought to an end in our land, in a way that shall be honourable and not destructive of our national existence, it must be by the consent of the South. A dissolution of the Union and civil war, perhaps a servile war also, would be the inevitable consequence of any coercion on the part of the non-slave-holding States.

The south tenacious of its rights.

'To return to the motives which influence the South—I was going also to mention an idea prevalent at the South, that a portion "of the land is susceptible only of slave cultivation, and that without this kind of labour their fine fields would be desolate." This idea, whether correct or not, is doubtless one of the obstacles in the way of abolition. Another difficulty is found in the fact that, for the want of sufficient incentives in this country to effort and virtue, the emancipated slave generally becomes a nuisance and pest to society; and general emancipation without colonization would despoil the whites at the South of the land of their fathers, and drive them from it; or in a short time render the South one "great prison-house" in a far different sense from what it is at present, if not a scene of butchery, massacre, and blood.

'But besides these considerations, the South has become extremely sensitive of its dignity and jealous for its alleged rights; and *will not allow* the least interference in respect to this question. They will not suffer dictation or instruction, and they will scarcely listen to reason or allow discussion. Indeed, the South may be considered as having pronounced its decision, that slavery shall not be discussed in any shape, within its borders, except as subject to restrictions which the South may see fit to impose. The reason assigned for this is, that they will not "by any affectation of liberality, endanger their social system." Claiming to be sovereign and independent States, in respect to this part of their domestic economy, they are fairly resolved to resist all encroachments upon their prerogative; regarding it wrong for one State, or individuals in that State, to interfere with, or in any way interrupt or endanger the domestic relations of another State, as it would be for a foreign power to interfere in the domestic concerns of our common country. An interference of the

latter kind would stir our whole country to indignation. Even the anti-slavery mission of an individual recently sent out to this country by an association of females in Scotland, was not tolerated; the non-slave-holding States, as well as the South, were moved at once by the alleged intrusion. With equal disapprobation do we listen to the threat of the Irish agitator, and his coadjutors in Parliament, "We will turn to America and *require* emancipation." What, should *we*, believing, as many do, that Ireland is in an enslaved condition, form societies in our country for the establishment of universal liberty, and send agents into the British dominions for the purpose of aiding O'Connel, or others, in efforts at agitation *there:* how would our philanthropy be regarded, I will not say by England, but by the nations? The same view is taken by the South of any interference in the Northern States with their domestic relations. Nay, they go further, and insist that inasmuch as "our constitution was a compromise, in which we agreed that each State should in its own domestic affairs be sovereign and independent," so "it is the highest infraction of all moral principle to violate the obligations which our contract imposes upon us." And with the same view of moral duty, there are many at the North who abhor slavery, and can truly say with Cowper,

"I would not have a slave to till my ground,"

who at the same time unhesitatingly endorse the language of the Boston Reviewer incognito, to whom I have already referred, but all of whose views, in extenso, I should be greatly unwilling to adopt, "In all codes of morality honesty holds the first place, and I deem it dishonest, as it is dishonourable, to do that by indirect means which I am prohibited from doing openly and avowedly before the world. If insurrection breaks out—if war and its atrocities are the consequence,

no drop of the vast torrent of blood that is to flow shall be laid to my account. * * I cannot reconcile it to my conscience, while I daily and hourly enjoy the blessings of this republican government, to take back any part of the price that was paid for it." They consider that the present slaveholders did not originate the system; and that they cannot consistently either with their duty to the slave, their country, or themselves, change the present state of things in a moment; and that they alone, on whom the accountability rests, must determine, in the sight of God, and in obedience to the dictates of their own consciences, when, and in what way, the system of slavery and all its present evils shall come to an end.

'The opinion of Daniel Webster, expressed not long since in a letter to a gentleman in New-York, and published with his permission, probably expresses the sentiments of the North generally: "In my opinion," says he, "the domestic slavery of the Southern States is a subject within the exclusive control of the States themselves; and, this I am sure, is the opinion of the North. Congress has no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them in any of the States. This was so resolved by the House of Representatives, when Congress sat in [New-York] in 1790, on the report of a committee consisting almost entirely of northern members; and I do not know an instance of the expression of a different opinion in either house of Congress since. * * The servitude of so great a portion of the population of the South is, undoubtedly, regarded at the North, as a great evil, moral and political. But it is regarded, nevertheless, as an evil, the remedy of which lies with those legislatures themselves [Southern,] to be provided and applied according to *their* own sense of policy and duty."

'It is indeed a melancholy consideration that domestic slavery in the United States is so intimately connected with civil society. But we must take the evil as it is; and seek the remedy in that way which is legally and morally right, and which will not bring about a greater evil than that which we seek to redress.'

'I wonder, Sir, what effect the discussions which are going forward has upon the peace of mind and happiness of the Southern slaves; I suppose that some of them are acquainted with the agitations of the times?'

'The effect of movements at the North which go to endanger the stability of Southern institutions, on the *condition* of both the coloured free, and the slaves, is seen in the severity of the recent legislative enactments. The talented editor of the U. S. Gazette has well remarked, that one can scarcely read of these proceedings, without being reminded of the remark (doubtless, ironical remark) of the distinguished but eccentric John Randolph, when some anti-slavery measure was proposed in Congress—"I will hurry home and flog Juba." The effect is, that as movements are made at the North, which are regarded by the South as prejudicial to their interests, they proceed at once to "flog Juba"—in other words, pass laws and keep up an espionage grievously oppressive to the coloured people. The immediate effect upon the mind and consequently upon the peace and enjoyment of the slaves, so far as they are led to reflect on their condition, is far from contributing to either. It is impossible that they should be indifferent to the subject when it is brought before their mind; it is impossible that they should be otherwise than uneasy, discontented, unhappy, inclined to revenge. A Virginia free black has said in respect to the laws of slavery and those affecting the condi-

tion of the free coloured people, "these things were never felt or even *known* by us until our Northern friends brought their existence before our remembrance."'

'But, Pa, is it not a fact,' said Henry, 'that, if all in the non-slaveholding States were of one mind in reprobating slavery, and supposing it proper for them to do so, were disposed to insist that the South shall emancipate their slaves; the slave-holding States are not so much in the minority that it would be possible for the demand to be enforced? I do not imagine that such a case will ever occur; but a supposition of the kind, and a correct view of the relative strength of the parties, it appears to me is calculated to dissipate every hope of truly benefitting the slave except as we act in concurrence with the views of his master.'

'The slave-holding districts are the fairest and most important portions of our country, if we regard the extent of territory, the fertility of the soil, or the increase of population. It is, of course, destined we should suppose to extend its influence and political power in the government of the country. But even now the disparity is not so great between the two divisions of our country that a determined collision would not be most fearful, and in all probability destructive to both. We must never allow ourselves, however, to dwell on such a topic. The thought is too painful —the event, we will hope, can never be. It were a strange infatuation indeed that should lead to it—a strange patriotism, and benevolence, and philanthropy, indeed!

'We will close the present conversation, with a few extracts which I will read from an address in the Richmond Enquirer, which the editor of that paper says is, what it purports to be, the production of "a Matron of Eastern Virginia," elicited by discussions at Washington and else-

where, which she regarded as of a "highly intemperate and pernicious character, entirely subversive of the tranquility and happiness of society." The extract will serve to show more clearly the views and feelings which prevail at the South.

"As a daughter of our eastern Virginia, and therefore most deeply interested in all that involves her interests and prosperity, permit me to entreat gentlemen no longer to discard all prudential considerations, but to pause and calmly reflect that they are compromising the safety of millions, by their ill-timed and imprudent discussions. * * Shut your eyes no longer, my countrymen—the Union is threatened; and all the blessings it confers, and which our fathers suffered and died to attain, must perish with it. Scorn not the feeble voice of a woman, when she calls on you to awake to your danger, ere it be for ever too late. We are told, that the citizens of the North would arouse our slaves to exert their physical force against us—but we cannot, we will not believe the foul, shocking, unnatural tale. What! have the daughters of the South inflicted such injuries on their Northern brethren, as to render them objects of their deadly, exterminating hate? Have helpless age, smiling infancy, virgin purity, no claims on the generous, the high-minded, and the brave? Would they introduce the serpents of fear and withering anxiety into the Edens of domestic bliss; bathe our peaceful hearths with blood, and force us to abhor those ties which now unite us as one people, and which we so lately taught our sons to regard as our pride, and the very palladium of our prosperity? * * The poor slave himself merits not at their hands the mischief and wo which his mistaken advocates would heap on his devoted head. The Northern people are too well acquainted with historical facts, to condemn us for evils which we deprecated as

warmly as themselves, but which were ruthlessly imposed on us by the power of Great Britain." Appealing to the North, she continues, "We deprecate slavery as much as you. We as ardently desire the liberty of the whole human race; but what can we do? The slow hand of time must overcome difficulties now insurmountable. An evil, the growth of ages, cannot be remedied in a day. Our virtuous and enlightened men will doubtless effect much by cautious exertion, if their efforts are not checked by your rash attempts to dictate on a subject of which it is impossible that you can form a correct judgment. Forbear your inflammatory addresses. They but rivet the fetters of the slaves, and render them ten thousand times more galling. You sacrifice his happiness, as well as that of his owner, for, by rendering him an object of suspicion and alarm, you deprive him of the regard, confidence, and I may add with the utmost truth, the affection of his master. You render a being now light-hearted and joyous, moody and wretched—Yes, hopelessly wretched. You wreak on the innocent and helpless, who, had they the will, possess not the power to bid the slave be free from all his imagined wrongs. You agonize gentle bosoms, which glow with christian charity towards the whole human race, of whatever colour they may be. Fearful forebodings mingle with all a mother's deep, imperishable love, as the matron bends over the infant that smiles in her face; and with more shuddering horror she trembles as she gazes on the daughters whose youthful beauty, goodness, and grace shed the sunshine of joy and hope over the winter of life. I appeal to you as christians, as patriots, as men, generous, high-minded men, to forbear. By all you hold sacred—by your own feelings for the wives of your bosom and the children of your love, pause and reflect on the mischief and wo you seek to inflict on both the white and coloured population of the Southern States."

CONVERSATION XVI.

"A general emancipation of slaves, to be consistent with such a regard to their good, and the public good, as humanity and religion demand, must plainly be the work of time. It must be accomplished by a wise system of moral influence and of proscriptive legislation, and must allow opportunity for a preparatory change of the habits of a whole community."

President Porter.

'You have intimated in former conversations,' said Caroline, 'that there is a disposition among good people at the South, notwithstanding the power with which their laws have invested them to prevent interference on the part of strangers, still to treat their slaves as rational beings, and to give them suitable moral and religious instruction. I wish this fact were more generally known at the North.'

'There is certainly,' said Mr. L., 'a pleasing and commendable spirit exhibited, after all the precautionary provisions of legislative acts, by the christian community at the South, in respect to the religious instruction of their slaves. I have before me a letter from an eminent clergyman of Virginia, a part of which I will read, since you may from such sources be better able to apprehend the true feeling of christians at the South, and the actual condition of the slaves:

'"To give you an idea of the feeling of the christian com-

munity toward that unfortunate class of people which we have among us, I would refer you to the articles which appeared in the Religious Telegraph during the last year, signed, 'Zinzindorf,' and which terminated in passing a resolution in the Synod of Virginia, recommending every church in the State, to set apart one of its best qualified members, whose duty it shall be to give religious instruction to the coloured people. And I am happy to state, that many enter upon this self-denying, though pleasing duty. The present proprietor of Monticello, (Jefferson's seat,) is a gentleman of first rate talents, wealthy, and a man of influence. He has entered into this business with all his heart. He has enjoyed a very liberal education; but he thought that this was not sufficient to instruct the poor African in the great truths of the gospel. He is preparing himself with a theological course, to fit him the better for this responsible duty. It is a pleasing fact, that the first proprietor of Jefferson's seat, after he left it, should be a man of such benevolent and devoted piety.

'"We hope that the public mind is fast preparing for a general emancipation, and that the christian community will not be remiss in instructing and preparing the coloured people for the colony. The redeeming spirit is amongst us, I hope, and will not rest till every slave shall be restored to the land of their fathers, and this State placed upon a footing with the other happy States of our Union, who know not the curses of slavery."

'I have also before me a letter from Georgia, written by a distinguished gentleman to his friend, on the same subject, which reads as follows:

'"With regard to your inquiries about the religious instruction of the Negroes of the South, I would state, that whilst there is far less interest on this subject among slaveholders than there should be, still we have much reason to

be grateful for what is doing, and for what in prospect may be done. My knowledge on this subject is confined to Georgia and South Carolina; you must apply to other gentlemen for information about other parts of the Southern country. I visited Bryan county, Georgia, a few weeks since, for the exclusive purpose of seeing what was doing there for the Negroes. On one plantation I found the slaves far more improved, both as regards their temporal comforts, and their religious instruction, than I had expected to see. The number of Negroes on this plantation is, I believe, about two hundred. They live in framed houses, raised above the ground—spacious, and in every way comfortable, and calculated to promote health. The Negroes were uniformly clad in a very decent and comfortable way. There is a chapel on the place where the master meets the adults every night at the ringing of the bell. Reading a portion of Scripture, and explaining it, singing, and prayer, constitute the regular exercises of every night in the week. On the Sabbath they have different and more protracted exercises.

' "A day school is taught by two young ladies—embracing all the children under twelve or fifteen years of age. The instruction in this and other schools in the county, is *oral*, of course; but it was gratifying to see how great an amount of knowledge the children had acquired in a few months. A Presbyterian minister of Philadelphia was with me, and he said, in unqualified terms, that he had visited no infant schools at the North better conducted—(this one of which I speak, is on the infant-school system.) Schools on the same plan are now established on the several other plantations in the same county. And I think I may say there is a very general interest getting up on this subject. A large portion of the wealthy planters either have already, or contemplate building churches on their premises, and employing

chaplains to preach to their slaves. Several I could mention who, though they are not pious themselves, have done this already, from what they have seen of the beneficial influence of religious instruction on the slaves of other plantations. Persons at a distance may be surprised at this fact, but it is so in a number of cases that I could name, if it were necessary. Ministers of all denominations begin to awake to their duty and responsibility on this subject. Many of them are now devoting themselves *wholly* to this portion of our community; and it is to be hoped that every christian master will soon be brought to an enlightened sense of duty. And *if we are allowed to prosecute this work without indiscreet interference on the part of our Northern brethren*, I feel assured that we shall see the Negroes *far more improved* in a short time than they are present."

'Of the religious condition of the slaves in South Carolina, a clergyman in that State writes:

'"I am able from authentic information to say, that of the *five hundred and eighty thousand*, which compose the entire population of this State, about *sixty-seven thousand* are members in the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian churches. Of these communicants more than *forty thousand* are slaves. The whole slave population is 315,000. It is easily seen, therefore, that of the white population about *one-seventh* are church members. It is proper these facts should come into the estimate of the religious condition and prospects of our slaves. In New-England there are *twenty thousand*, and in the free states a *hundred and twenty-thousand* blacks. I should be glad to see a comparison of *their* religious condition with that of our slaves in this one item. Do you believe that *one-twentieth* of them are communicants? And do you believe that in New-England as *here*, there is a *larger proportion* of black than white communi-

cants? And what is doing *there* to improve the moral condition of the blacks?

'"The religious denominations which embrace these forty thousand black members, are engaged earnestly, if not to the extent of their ability, to bring the saving blessings of the gospel to the souls of all these "heathen among ourselves." And are you not ready to say:—"Go on, my brethren, and may God bless you. We would rejoice to help you if we could: but if we *cannot* HELP YOU, we will 'LET YOU ALONE.'"

'At the convention of the diocese of the Episcopal church in South Carolina, in 1834, a committee was appointed to take into consideration, and report upon the subject of the religious instruction of the blacks, at the next convention. This was accordingly done, and the Bishop was requested to address a pastoral letter to the diocese, embracing so much of the report of the committee as he might deem expedient. In compliance with this request, a pastoral letter from Bishop Bowen was published, containing much valuable and appropriate counsel in relation to the subject, urging attention to the religious instruction of slaves as the imperative duty of every master, and uniting with the committee of the convention in recommending measures for its due performance. The letter says, the *persons* by whom the work of instruction should be undertaken are, "1st. The clergy with their assistants in Sunday schools. 2. Lay catechists usefully employed in the primitive ages of the church, and now rendered absolutely necessary by the small number of clergy. 3. The proprietors of slaves or their agents or overseers, with the assistance of their families. The method recommended is:—1. The establishment of Sunday schools, with lectures on portions of Scripture for adults, together with classes of candidates for baptism and the Lord's Supper, to be conducted by the

minister. 2. The employment of missionaries for the coloured population. One of the clergy, the committee trusts, is as 'usefully as he is honourably employed' in this way, on the plantations of Messrs. Clarkson on the Wateree, and the hope is expressed that the time is not far distant 'when the Lord will put it into the hearts of many of our younger clergy to devote themselves to this interesting work.' 3. The proprietors of slaves are urged to personal labours for their spiritual improvement, and each one is recommended in relation to the measures proposed, to 'ask himself before God, *is not this my duty?* And then let him pursue it, convinced that however great his discouragement may be at first, by the blessing of God great good must ultimately result.' In the State of South Carolina it is estimated that there are thirty thousand communicants belonging to the slave population. 'Our clergy,' says a zealous, faithful, and highly respectable clergyman, 'generally pay a particular attention to the black congregations. Many of them give the entire afternoon of the Sabbath to them. Sunday schools among them are almost universally organized.' It is also well known that in religious families, the instruction of the slaves is an object of general solicitude. It is by no means unusual for individual planters, or two or more in connexion, to support a chaplain for the exclusive benefit of their coloured people."

'I might multiply proofs of a disposition prevailing extensively at the South in all the States to give to the slaves religious instruction, and all practicable religious privileges. I think the general feeling on this subject is greatly misapprehended in the non-slave-holding States. The evils of slavery are great, but they ought not to be magnified either by representing the slaves as deprived of all religious privileges, or their masters as destitute of christian benevolence and the feelings of humanity. The South are lamentably

deficient in this point after all; but I wish as great attention were paid to the souls of the poor blacks in every free State, as they receive in the instances to which we have referred at the South.'

'I have understood, Sir, that an effect of colonization, since Liberia is becoming better known as the home of the free, is an increasing disposition and desire on the part of slave-holders to emancipate their slaves, that they may find an asylum in that land of freedom.'

'Yes; within one year it is said that more than 2,000 slaves have been offered the Colonization Society from five different States, with the desire expressed on the part of both master and slave, for a passage to Liberia. As colonization gains ground, the freedom of untold thousands, it is to be hoped, will be secured, and Africa gladdened yet more and more with the light of civilization and christianity.'

'It appears morally certain,' said Henry, 'that the bondage to which Africans have been subjected, by being torn away from Africa, and the consequent condition of many of their descendants, will be overruled by a wonder-working Providence to the christianization and salvation of not a few. There is this fact, at least, to abate the painful sensations which the thought of slavery occasions.'

'You remind me,' said Mr. L., 'of an anecdote which the Rev. Mr. Brown, of St. Petersburg, recently related, in the course of his speech at the anniversary in Boston of the Massachusetts Missionary Society. I will endeavour to repeat it, although I cannot give it the interest and effect produced by his recital.

'"Among a number of slaves who had been re-captured by a British ship, and sent into Sierra Leone, was a little boy named Tom, who had by the slavers been separated from his father and mother, and who became an object of the particular regard of the missionaries at that station. One day, after the hour of instruction had passed, the voice of this little boy was overheard in a retired place, which one of the missionaries happened to pass. The missionary at first thought Tom to be in dispute with some of his companions, but on listening was surprised and overjoyed to find him earnestly engaged in prayer. To attempt to give the precise language of his broken petition, might make it ridiculous; but the following is the substance of it, as related by the missionary, as nearly as can be recollected:—'O God, me glad de wicked man take me; me glad King George's big ship take de wicked man; me glad me brought here, where de missionary learn me to know God, and de way to heaven. O God, me have one great favour to ask. Me pray God send more wicked man to take my father and mother. Me pray God send more King George's big ship to take de wicked man and bring my father and mother here, so they may learn the way to heaven, and father, mother, and Tom, all go to heaven together.' A few days afterwards, Tom was seen upon the shore, anxiously gazing upon the boundless ocean. On being questioned as to his object, he said, 'Me see if God hear prayer; me pray God send my father and mother here; me see if God answer Tom's prayer.' Day after day, full of faith and hope, Tom paid a visit to the sea side. Long he waited for an answer to his prayer of faith, and his father and mother came not. Yet Tom confided in the faithfulness of the God whom the missionary had taught him to know and love, till one day, when many months had expired, he came running to the missionary,

clapping his hands, and exclaiming in an extacy of joy, 'God answer prayer—Christ hear Tom's prayer—the big ship coming to bring my father and mother; O Tom glad God hear his prayer.' A British ship had, strange as it may seem, made its appearance, and soon after landed a party of slaves re-captured from the 'wicked man,' among whom was Tom's father and mother."'

'God can indeed bring good out of evil,' said Caroline, 'and make the wrath of man to praise him. I have understood, Pa, that the colony at Sierra Leone, although not so favourably situated as that in Liberia, is prosperous; and that the church mission at Sierra Leone has been greatly blessed.

Mr. L. replied, 'If I recollect, the number of communicants at the church missions in Sierra Leone is between 400 and 500; attendants on public worship, 3,000; day scholars, 1,200. The divine favour, in an increasing degree, appears to be vouchsafed to the missionaries.

'It is also said that the Wesleyans have penetrated 300 miles up the Gambia, and have established a mission in the centre of the Mandingo and Foulah tribes. Number of members "in society," about 800. In no year has so much been done for African colonization, as during the last, and to give a permanent foundation to the colonies.'

'I believe, Sir,' said Henry, 'that the plan of spreading the gospel by the establishment of christian colonies in heathen lands, is beginning to be thought much of? It appears to me that the success of the missions to Africa will have the effect to recommend it greatly.'

Christian colonies a means of evangelizing the heathen.

Said Mr. L., 'the Rev. Mr. Abeel, missionary to China, has remarked, "that the opinion is gaining rapid currency, especially among foreign missionaries, that *colonies, christian* colonies, are demanded in the enterprise of evangelizing the heathen. Possessed of the proper spirit, their influence is incalculable. The power of a righteous and holy example, irrespective of all other benefits, would give to communities of this kind the relative importance of a sun to the dark spots on which their light would fall. They would present to the heathen in an embodied form, the lovely and attractive feature of christianity. They would exemplify the practicability of those lessons which the gospel inculcates, and show their incomparable superiority over all their own tenets and practices. The arts and customs of civilized life could in this manner be most advantageously introduced. All the useful trades and occupations among us could be employed for the benefit both of the colonist and of those to whose best interests they had devoted themselves. Added to these, and perhaps superior to them all, would be the direct modes of bringing truth in contact with the minds of the heathen, which the members of such colonies might employ, and which might be multiplied in proportion to the number of adult colonists. Oral teaching—the distribution of books—the instruction of the young in seminaries of every variety—from the infant school through all the intermediate departments—to the colleges and even theological institutions, would employ all the time of some, and the leisure hours of others, to the greatest advantage. One ordained missionary could keep a hundred assistants engaged, though their labours were the most signally blessed. That which engrosses the missionary is the simple elementary instruction in christianity, which any layman could perform with equal propriety and effect. Formal preaching, and the

administration of the sacraments requires but one man to a station. If the children of such colonists were sanctified to the great work in which all around them were employed, their services would be incalculable. The language would come to them by intuition and in its perfection."

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Freedom alone will not elevate the blacks.

CONVERSATION XVII.

"'Tis liberty alone that gives the flow'r
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it. All constraint,
Except what wisdom lays on evil men,
Is evil; hurts the faculties; impedes
Their progress in the road of science; blinds
The eye-sight of discovery: and begets
In those who suffer it, a sordid mind,
Bestial, a meagre intellect, unfit
To be the tenant of man's noble form."—*Cowper.*

'After all, Pa, it appears to me,' said Henry, 'that it is more than freedom that is necessary to raise the African in the scale of being, and make him respected and happy. How many Negroes there are in this country that are free, and yet are quite as degraded as the slaves! Emancipation, it seems to me, is but a small part of the duty to which humanity calls us.'

'Yes, Pa,' said Caroline, 'I have thought that the blacks, even at the North, are generally very degraded and miserable; and I have been told that the free blacks at the South are even more grovelling and abandoned in their morals than the slaves.'

'It is true, my children, that whilst there are in the United States 300,000 persons of African origin who have the *name*

Strange that they are not even more depraved.

of being free, they are generally wretched. But we should remember that is because invincible prejudice is continually pressing them down, and paralyzing all the energies of their nature. There are circumstances which seem to check and utterly forbid, in most cases, every rising emotion of ambition. They have, in truth, neither home, country, or motive to effort. Let the white man be similarly situated, generation after generation growing up in ignorance and disgrace; and see if, in the lapse of time, he and his descendants are not wretched, their thoughts grovelling, and morals abandoned.'

'Why, as to that, I do not think the blacks are more degraded than many whites. I have heard it remarked, that at the South even the slaves consider it a degradation to associate with the lowest class of whites.'

'It has been said that, at the South, there are three great classes—the respectable whites, the negroes, and the ignorant, or vicious and degraded whites; the last being lowest on the scale of respectability and moral worth. At the South, the line of demarkation is more clearly drawn between the respectable and the degraded, than in the Northern States. The white man who, at the South, cannot find a comfortable support, and maintain a respectable standing in society, is generally obnoxious to the suspicion of other causes of poverty and degradation than misfortune; whilst there is far greater equality than with us, among the respectable portion of the community.

'To return to your remark, about the unhappy condition of the free blacks. We admit that it is correct; but let me ask if it is not strange that the blacks are not even more degraded than they are. I do not think that either free or slave will suffer in comparison with the whites, allowing for all

No stimulus to effort, and opportunity for distinction.

the circumstances which have led to the present condition of the blacks. The free, however, it must be confessed, are generally more sunken to a level with the brute, than the slave. They are, as a whole, exceeding corrupt, depraved, and abandoned. There are many honourable exceptions among them, and it is often a pleasure which I enjoy of bearing testimony to these exceptions; but the vicious and degraded habits and propensities of this class, are known to every man of attentive observation.

'The characters of men for active industry, enterprise. and external morality, to say the least, always depend. more than is generally supposed, upon the circumstances in which they are placed. Among the causes which, probably, operate most powerfully on the character, is early encouragement. The child who is taught to expect and attempt great things, is most likely to imbibe a generous spirit of enterprise. It is the encouragement, the hope of attaining to some degree of excellence or measure of prosperity, which is wont to develope genius and make the man. But what hopes are before the minds of the children of our coloured population, as motives to aim at an elevated standing in society? What honourable employment to which the genius might happen to be suited, can be promised? To what circle of friendship and respectability, whose cultivated minds and purity of morals may operate as a stimulus, can the children of a coloured skin be introduced? Can the parents of those children, affording powerful motives in their own success and example, point to the successful merchant, the distinguished statesman, the eminent scholar, or physician, or divine, and say, you have the prospect of rising, with equal industry and merit, to a level with those? Alas! they must, at best, be hewers of wood and drawers of water. The bar, the pulpit, the legislative hall, the circles of refinement, and

respectability, and honour, are shut to them, by that which is irresistible—the force of public sentiment. They are denied, by invincible prejudice, the advantages of other freemen, and no talents however great, no piety however pure and devoted, no patriotism however ardent, can lift them above this cruel fate. They hear the accents, they behold the triumphs, of liberty; but they cannot enjoy it as do we. In all the walks of life, in every society, on every path which lies before others to honour and fame and glory, a moral incubus pursues and fastens upon them. A great man among ourselves, has said, "Their condition is worse than that of the fabled Tantalus, who never could grasp the fruits and water which seemed within his reach. And when they die,

'Memory o'er their tomb no trophies raises.'"

'Their degradation is the natural consequence of their unfortunate situation, and not the result of any inherent depravity in their natural constitution, or of deficiency of mental faculties.

'They are capable, I verily believe, (and I hope that by observation and by reading, if not by our conversations, this conviction will be fastened on your mind,) of the finest sensibilities as we are; as capable of appreciating and enjoying the endearing relations and blessings of life; as capable of self-government, and eminent attainments in knowledge, usefulness, piety, and respectability. But do what they will, there is here, comparatively, only one prospect before them. This is true in respect to the *free* Negro, and it cannot be supposed to be otherwise in respect to the slave.'

'It seems to me that we can hardly hope, under such circumstances, that they will ever be, in this country, what they

should desire to be, and aspire after. And this is the reason, I suppose, why so many who appear to feel for their unhappy condition, are in favour of their colonizing in Africa?'

'It is for this reason, and also for others in connexion—the benefits that will result to Africa from such an enterprise, and the best interests of our own country—that African colonization is warmly advocated by many. The object is thought to have powerful claims to our best and warmest wishes, and untiring efforts, whether we consult the best interests of the free blacks, the slaves, the whites, or the many millions scattered over the dark continent of Africa.'

'I do not see why they should desire, under such circumstances, to remain, or why any should oppose their location on a more genial soil. Why should they not wish to go to the country of their forefathers?'

'I am by no means a party man, in respect to this subject, and I hope not on any subject; but I acknowledge that the American Colonization Society has claims to my high regard and best desires for its success and prosperity. There is much need, doubtless, of that wisdom which God imparts to them that seek it, to direct in this matter, for great interests are involved, and the question is exceeding complicate in its bearings. There is need also of a spirit of meekness, and kindness, and forbearance, in its discussion.'

'You feel confident then, Pa, that the blacks, if colonized, will do well in their fathers' native land?'

'I can have no reasonable doubt on this subject. Place them where they may call the land their own, where, to use the language of a distinguished and eloquent statesman of another country, "they will stand redeemed, regenerated,

and disenthralled by the mighty genius of universal emancipation," and they will commence a new life. Many who were fully sensible to the humiliation of their condition here, are at this moment worthy and independent citizens in the country of their forefathers.'

'It seems cruel that remaining in this country, they are destined to be for ever proscribed and debased by our prejudices; and yet, for all that we can foresee, such must be the consequence unless public sentiment undergoes an entire change. At the South, the African is held in physical bondage; at the North, prejudice consigns him to a moral debasement, by which he cannot but feel that he is deeply injured. It is a painful subject—and who shall determine where the line of duty shall be drawn? If we refer to the Scriptures, a diversity of sentiment remains even among good people, for they differ in their interpretations and constructions of duty. I *know* that I have what are called *prejudices*, and still I think I am sincerely disposed to befriend the cause of the oppressed Negro. Some views have been imputed to some friends of Africans, at which my mind recoils—and this I *suppose* is what is denominated prejudice.'

'There appears to exist in the breasts of white men in this country, generally, a prejudice against the colour of the African, which nothing short of divine power can remove. How far this difference between ourselves and the blacks should influence our intercourse with them in political life or in respect to the sociabilities of the friendly circle, I shall not here assert. I have my own views on this subject. It becomes me, however, to admit that some great and good men have gone to wide extremes on this question. Dr. Philip, the able and distinguished missionary in South Africa, of the London Missionary Society, in a letter to a be-

nevolent association of students at the Princeton Theological Seminary, says, "It gives us a frightful view of human nature, that the injuries we have done to that race of men, should be the ground of our hatred against them; and that that hatred should be evident in proportion to the cruelty and injustice they have suffered at our hands." * * * "As our children, it is hoped," he continues, "will be more innocent of the crimes committed against Africa, than we are, so we hope they will cherish towards Africa a more kindly feeling than we. There was no prejudice against colour when Egypt was the cradle of literature and science, nor in the days when the Grecian and Roman republics were in their glory; and these prejudices *will, most certainly, pass away*, as the principles of the gospel prevail."'

'I believe the same prejudice does not exist, in the same degree, in other countries, does it, Pa?'

'It is a singular fact that we republicans are, in this matter, far more exclusive in our feelings than our monarchical neighbours. In England, it is common to see respectable and genteel people, open their pews when a black stranger enters the church; and, at hotels, nobody thinks it a degradation to have a coloured traveller sit at the same table.

'I have heard a well-authenticated anecdote, which illustrates the different state of feeling in the two countries on this subject.

'"A wealthy American citizen was residing in London for a season, at the time the famous Prince Saunders was there. The London breakfast hour is very late; and Mr. Saunders happened to call on the American while his family were taking their morning repast. Politeness and native good feelings prompted the good lady to ask their guest to take a cup of coffee; but then, the prejudices of society—

how *could* she get over them? True, he was a gentleman in character, manners, and dress—but he had a *black skin*, and how could she sit at the same table with him! His skin being black, it was altogether out of the question, although it is possible a black character is not always so great a difficulty in the way of asking a man to eat with one! So the lady sipped her coffee, and Prince Saunders sat at the window, occasionally speaking in reply to the conversation addressed to him. At last, all others having retired from the breakfast table, the lady, with an affected air of sudden recollection, said, 'I *forgot* to ask if you had breakfasted, Mr. Saunders; won't you allow me to give you a cup of coffee?' 'I thank you, Madam,' was the reply, with a dignified bow, '*I am engaged to breakfast with the Prince Regent, this morning.*"'

CONVERSATION XVIII.

"It is not easy to discern any object to which the pecuniary resources of the Union can be applied, of greater importance to the national security and welfare, than to provide for the removal, in a manner consistent with the rights and interests of the several States, of the free coloured population within their limits."—*Gen. Mercer.*

'In our last conversation, we noticed the general degradation of blacks in this country. The circumstance that there are so few blacks that, with their freedom, avoid poverty and vice, nobly resisting the natural tendency of their condition, has led some to suppose that however undesirable in itself slavery may be, the blacks generally gain little, and in most instances, are great losers, by emancipation!

'It has been asserted that, of free blacks collected in our cities and large towns, a great portion are found in abodes of wretchedness and vice, and become tenants of poor-houses and prisons. As a proof of the tendency of their condition, the following striking facts among others, ascertained a year or two since, have been mentioned: In Massachusetts, where the coloured population is small, being less than 7,000 souls, (only 1-74th part of the whole population,) about 1-6th part of the whole number of convicts in the state-prison are blacks. In Connecticut, 1-34th part of

the population is coloured, and ☞ 1-3d part of the convicts. In New-York, 1-35th part are blacks; ☞ 1-4th part of the convicts in the city state-prison are blacks. In New-Jersey, the proportion is 1-13th coloured; and of the convicts 1-3d. In Pennsylvania, 1-34th part of a population of more than a million of souls, is coloured; and more than one-third part of the convicts are black.

'I need not pursue these illustrations of the degradation of the free blacks in the non-slave-holding States. It appears from these statements, which I find in the First Annual Report of the Prison Discipline Society, that about *one quarter* part of all the expense incurred by these States for the support of their institutions for criminals is for *coloured* convicts. The bill of expense in three of these States stands thus: that is, the expense for the support of coloured convicts for the specified number of years preceding the report from which this schedule is made, is in

Massachusetts,	10 years, - -	$17,734
Connecticut,	15 " - - -	37,166
New-York,	27 " - - -	109,166 in one prison.
		$164,066

☞ This sum was expended in an average of less than eighteen years, on convicts from among a population of only 54,000 coloured persons.

'Illustrations, borrowed from the criminal statistics of the South, would place this matter in a far more unfavourable light. References to the expenses for the maintenance of paupers, would give a similar result.

'Another consideration, and one of great weight with our Southern brethren, in leading them to deprecate the existence and increase of a coloured population in their midst, is the contaminating influence which this class spread among

the poor and degraded around them. Prostrate and wretched themselves, through the peculiarity of their almost hopeless circumstances, they are a source of envy and restless anxiety to the slave, who, seeing them free from domestic restraint and witnessing the facilities with which they are enabled to indulge their various propensities, are tempted, and corrupted, and often ruined by the contagious influence. Hence, some of the severest provisions of the law, and the most cruel restraints to which slavery is subjected—and hence too the early discouragement, and of late years the absolute prohibition of emancipation except under severe restrictions, in the Southern States.'

'I recollect having been very much shocked sometime since at the remark of Gen. H——, that "it would have been better for the free blacks had they been kept in bondage, where the opportunity and the inducements to vice would not have been so great." I did not at the time appreciate the remark.'

'Such is the opinion of many, who I am sure are no advocates for slavery, and who have made sacrifices to their good feelings towards the African, both slave and free. "I am clear," says a distinguished Virginian, who feels a deep interest in the welfare of our coloured population, "that whether we consider it with reference to the welfare of the State, or the happiness of the blacks, it were better to leave them in chains, than to liberate them to receive such freedom as they enjoy."'

'The condition of slaves themselves, I suppose, would be much ameliorated by the removal of those that are freed, and I should suppose that no one can doubt that our free black population may find themselves much more favourably located in a community by themselves.'

Colonization ameliorates the condition of the slave.

'There can be no doubt that colonization has a tendency to ameliorate the condition of the slave; and that it is well calculated to hasten the time when all shall go free who are now oppressed. It has long been a source of regret among many discerning, and well-informed, and christian people, to my own knowledge, that they cannot free their slaves without adding to their wretchedness—throwing, as it were, loose on the community so many materials to be manufactured into every form of indolence, degradation and vice.'

'I suppose, Pa,' said Henry, 'that if the immediate emancipation of the whole slave population were to be effected, the situation of the whites at the South would be very far from enviable?'

'It is thought by the South, and by many at the North, that immediate emancipation would render it necessary for the whites to exterminate the blacks, or abandon the southern soil. The late abolition of slavery in the West India colonies is pleaded as a refutation of this idea; but those who are best qualified to judge, assert that the emancipation of slaves upon the West India estates, is a very different thing from the immediate emancipation of two millions of slaves in the southern country; and that, without raising the question of the ultimate effect upon the whites in the West Indies, the banishment of the blacks, or the expatriation or annihilation of the whites would be the necessary consequence in this country.'

'The duty of immediate emancipation,' said Caroline, 'would be very plain, I suppose, if the continuance of the system is wrong under *any* circumstances. The abolitionists, I believe, view slavery in all cases, as a *sin*; and

suppose it is hardly proper to advise *leaving off sin gradually*, as convenience dictates.'

'The Rev. Dr. Fisk, President of the Methodist University in Middletown,' said Mr. L., 'illustrates the consequence of carrying out the views of our abolitionist brethren, by the following anecdote :—

"The eccentric Lorenzo Dow, had by building a milldam across a stream flooded his neighbour's grounds above the dam. They commenced a suit against him, and obtained a verdict in their favour, on the principle that he was invading their rights. This verdict convinced Lorenzo that every moment he kept the water in its present position he was guilty of a legal sin : and on the ground that every man should *quit sinning immediately*, he at once became a convert to the doctrine of immediate abolition. He accordingly went to work and forthwith abolished (or demolished) his milldam. The *immediate* consequence of letting off so large a quantity of water at once, was the deluging of the country below, and a great destruction of property. And Lorenzo was taught by a second prosecution and assessment of damages, that his *immediate abolition* had led *him* into a *greater sin* than he was guilty of before."

'We have already noticed,' Mr. L. continued, 'the condition of the free black population in several of the most highly favoured States in the Union. Let me advert to a few other facts: In the State of Virginia the free coloured people are not less than 38,000 ; and yet of this number, *not* 200 *are proprietors of land!* Again, look at their unwelcome reception wherever they go, among the whites ; and consider the fact that their presence is regarded as an evil wherever they are. In some States, they are prevented from going by enactments which expose them to a forfeiture of their

freedom if they should dare to set foot upon the soil. Louisiana, sometime since, required all free persons of colour who had removed to the State since the year 1825, to leave it. Thousands who had taken refuge in Ohio, driven out from that State, sought a home in Canada; but the result is that the Canadians, in their turn, have threatened their expulsion. They are laid under restrictions which cannot but be exceeding painful, in most of the States both North and South; and in none do they enjoy any thing much better than a mere nominal freedom. Various expedients are resorted to by the State legislatures to free themselves from a free coloured population, by disabilities and other embarrassments. Every State seems to cherish a disposition to be free from a free black population. The South casts them off—the North has no place for them—the West pushes them away—Canada expels them—and where shall they go? What shall they do?

'They are here insulated from the world; they have no home of their own; no community of their own; no country of their own; no government of their own; no system whatever, intellectual or moral, in which their individual existence forms a part of the machinery. Every cheerful hope is crushed—they are, I was going to say, dislocated from humanity.

'The free people of colour in Baltimore, seem to have taken a correct but painful view of this subject, in a memorial which is now before me: they say, to the citizens of Baltimore,

"We have hitherto beheld, in silence, but with intense interest, the efforts of the wise and philanthropic in our behalf. If it became us to be silent, it became us also to feel the liveliest anxiety and gratitude. The time has now arrived, as we believe, in which your work and our happiness

may be promoted by the expression of our opinions. * * * We reside among you, and yet are strangers; natives, and yet not citizens; surrounded by the freest people and most republican institutions in the world, and yet enjoying none of the immunities of freedom. This singularity in our condition has not failed to strike us as well as you: but we know it is irremediable here. Our difference of colour, the servitude of many and most of our brethren, and the prejudices which those circumstances have naturally occasioned, will not allow us to hope, even if we could desire, to mingle with you, one day, in the benefits of citizenship. As long as we remain among you, we must (and shall) be content to be a distinct caste, exposed to the indignities and dangers, physical and moral, to which our situation makes us liable. All that we may expect, is to merit by our peaceable and orderly behaviour, your consideration and the protection of the laws.

"It is not to be imputed to you that we are here. Your ancestors remonstrated against the introduction of the first of our race, who were brought amongst you; and it was the mother country that insisted on their admission, that her colonies and she might profit, as she thought, by their compulsory labour. * * Leaving out all considerations of generosity, humanity, and benevolence, you have the strongest reasons to favour and facilitate the withdrawal from among you of such as wish to remove. * * * * But if *you* have every reason to wish for our removal, how much greater are *our* inducements to remove? Though we are not slaves, we are not free. * * Beyond a mere subsistence, and the impulse of religion, there is nothing to arouse us to the exercise of our faculties, or excite us to the attainment of eminence. Though under the shield of your laws, we are partially protected, not totally oppressed; nevertheless,

our situation will and must inevitably have the effect of crushing, not developing the capacities that God has given us. We are, besides, of opinion, that our absence will accelerate the liberation of such of our brethren as are in bondage, by the permission of Providence. When such of us as wish, and may be able, shall have gone before to open and lead the way, a channel will be left, through which may be poured such as hereafter receive their freedom from the kindness or interests of their masters, or by public opinion and legislative enactment, and who are willing to join us who have preceded them. * * *

"Of the many schemes that have been proposed, we must approve of that of AFRICAN COLONIZATION. If we were able and at liberty to go whithersoever we would, the greater number, willing to leave this community, would prefer LIBERIA, on the coast of Africa. * * We shall carry your language, your customs, your opinions, and christianity to that now desolate shore, and thence they will gradually spread with our growth, far into the continent. The slave-trade, both external and internal, can be abolished only by settlements on the coast. * * * We foresee that difficulties and dangers await those who emigrate, such as every infant establishment must encounter and endure. * * * * But 'Ethiopia shall lift her hands unto God.'

"Thousands and tens of thousands poorer than we, annually emigrate from Europe to your country, and soon have it in their power to hasten the arrival of those they left behind. * * * * * If we were doubtful of your good will and benevolent intentions, we would remind you of the time when you were in a situation similar to ours, and when your forefathers were driven by religious persecution, to a distant and inhospitable shore. * * An empire may be the result of our emigration, as of theirs. The protection,

kindness, and assistance which you would have desired for yourselves under such circumstances, now extend to us," &c.

'This memorial, of which I have given the greater part, was adopted at meetings of "respectable free people of colour, held in the Bethel" and African churches, which meetings were composed of "several denominations, from every part of the city." The memorial is a well written document, and cannot be read without interest.'

'There is,' said Henry, 'a wide field for enterprise in Africa, and for christian effort; if I were an African, I think I should not hesitate to go.'

'I was exceedingly interested a few years since to witness the embarkation of emigrants from one of our principal ports; and was surprised to find in how many instances the native origin in respect to particular districts, of those who were about to sail, might be determined. Said a dear friend who soon after laid down his life, on a mission to Africa, "There is the aged Fantee and Haousian—they say 'I go to encourage the young—they can never be elevated here—I have tried it sixty years—it is in vain—could I by my example induce them to embark, and I die the next day, I should be satisfied.' There is also the Congoese, the Gulan, the Angolan, the Aceran, and Ashantee—all with their faces to the East. And there is one case of great interest—the name of that girl, is A-cush-u-no-no. In Africa she would be styled a young Fantee Princess. She is an heir of heaven, we have every reason to believe."

'It is delightful to anticipate, as I think we may, with great confidence, the result of the Colonization enterprise. It is glorious in its object—it will, I doubt not, be truly glorious in its results.'

CONVERSATION XIX.

"For myself, I am free to say, that of all things that have been going on in our favour since 1787, when the abolition of the slave-trade was seriously proposed, that which is going on in the United States is the most important. It surpasses every thing that has yet occurred. No sooner had your colony been established on Cape Montserado, than there appeared a disposition among the owners of slaves to give them freedom voluntarily and without compensation, and allow them to be sent to the land of their fathers, so that you have many thousands redeemed, without any cost for their redemption. To me this is truly astonishing. Can this have taken place without the intervention of the Spirit of God?"—*Thomas Clarkson.*

'It is a settled point, I should think,' said Caroline—'I consider it as settled in my own mind, at least, that Africans and their descendants cannot be so useful or happy as citizens of this country, as they might be in their fathers' native land.'

Said Mr. L., 'I have been looking over a discourse by the Rev. Dr. Miller of Princeton, which was delivered in 1823, before the Synod of New-Jersey. The Dr. holds this language, in reference to this subject, which, if you please, I will read:

"If liberated and left among the whites, they would be a constant source of annoyance, corruption, and danger. They could never be trusted as faithful citizens; for they could never feel that their interests and those of the whites

are precisely the same. Each would regard the other with painful suspicion and apprehension. * * It is essential to the interests of each that they be separated to such distances from each other, as to avoid too frequent intercourse. They should be in a situation to live a separate and independent people. If we would consult their temporal and eternal well-being, this must be done; if we would consult our own interests and happiness, it is equally necessary."

'Again he says, "They could never be either respectable or happy in the midst of a white population. They can never, whilst public sentiment remains what it is, associate with the whites on terms of equality. They may be industrious and regular; they may be enterprising and successful in business; and exhibit talents, knowledge, and wealth; but after all they can never associate with the whites on terms comfortable to either. They will be treated, and they will feel as inferiors. They cannot live under the influence of that sense of character, of those excitements to aim at a high standing in society which operate upon a corresponding number of white people. As they cannot fail to have a degraded standing, so this will confer on them in a greater or less degree a degraded character. Place any number of human beings, of whatever complexion, in a situation in which they can never aspire to an equality with those around them, and you take away from them one of the main incitements to industry, to honourable enterprise, and to emulation of excellence."

'This is indeed but a repetition of the sentiments which I have already advanced in these conversations. Slavery *must*, sooner or later, cease from among us; and I pray that the hour may hasten when our country shall be delivered from its scourge and reproach. But the more I contemplate the subject, the more I am convinced that the way which

gives promise of greatest and most extensive benefit to the slaves in our country, as well as to the whites, is *emancipation united with colonization.* Nor can I doubt that the coloured people of this country who are already nominally free, will best promote their own interests, as well as the best interests of their race and the salvation of their fathers' native continent, by planting themselves in some position on the inviting shores of Africa.'

'But, Pa, they must be prepared by education, and suitable moral and religious instruction, in order to be *good* citizens of any country?'

'Certainly. African improvement and colonization should be considered inseparable. Great care must be taken, not to destroy the hope of a rich blessing for Africa by sending thither a people who are not prepared to assist in laying the foundation for a great and cultivated, prosperous and christian nation.

'The germ of such an empire, I am happy to say, has already, as I confidently believe, taken root in Africa. The leaven of christianity is already in the midst of her dark and absurd superstitions. And I have no doubt that before a century has passed away, millions of free and enlightened and christian people will lift their hearts up in thanksgivings to God on the shores of Africa, in grateful recollection of the Pilgrims of Mesurado!'

'We should like, Pa, to know more than we do of the object and history of colonization.'

'I was just about to suggest the same,' said Henry.

'It will give me great pleasure to gratify your wishes in this respect.

'The American Colonization Society is a voluntary and benevolent association which was formed at Washington, District of Columbia, in the December of 1816. Who is entitled to the honour of first suggesting its formation and character, I shall not undertake to determine. It has been said, that, as early as 1777, Mr. Jefferson proposed to the legislature of Virginia to have incorporated in the revised code of that State, a plan for colonizing the free coloured population of the United States. It is said that he proposed to establish a colony in some part of our western country. The project proved abortive.

'In England, Dr. Fothergill and Granville Sharp appear first to have considered the subject, the latter of whom may be regarded as the founder of the colony of Sierra Leone. The earliest suggestions that I have met with on this subject, from over the waters, were from the pen of Granville Sharp, bearing date 1783. It is said that Anthony Benezet, in a letter addressed to Dr. Fothergill, 1773, proposed to colonize the Negroes of this country, in "that large extent of country from the west side of the Alleghany mountains to the Mississippi, on a breadth of four or five hundred miles." Benezet also writes, under date of 4th month 28th, 1773, "I am like-minded with thee, with respect to the danger and difficulty which would attend a sudden manumission of those Negroes now in the Southern colonies, as well to themselves as to the whites."

'In 1785, a Society seems to have been formed in Pennsylvania, for promoting the *gradual* abolition of slavery, which received a charter in 1789; but it does not appear that this body contemplated the colonization of the free blacks in a separate community. For this Society, however, it has

been claimed by an able advocate for colonization, (J. R. Tyson, Esq.) that it is "the parent of perhaps all the similar institutions in this country."

'In 1787, Dr. Thornton, of Washington, formed a project for colonizing free men of colour, from the United States, on the western coast of Africa; and published an address to those residing in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, inviting them to accompany him to Africa for the purpose of forming a settlement. He was enthusiastically engaged in the enterprise, and was so far successful that he found a sufficient number of free blacks ready to go; but unfortunately, his efforts failed for want of sufficient funds, the public mind not being then prepared for any such enterprise of benevolence to afford that pecuniary aid which is so commendably furnished when any good object presents itself at the present day.

'In 1789, the Rev. Dr. Hopkins, of Rhode Island, corresponded with Granville Sharp on the subject; and in 1790, an able article on the subject was published by Ferdinando Fairfax, of Virginia.

'In 1801, the legislature of Virginia resolved instructions to their Governor, Mr. Monroe, to apply to the President of the United States, and urge him to institute negotiations with some of the powers of Europe possessed of colonies on the coast of Africa, for an asylum to which emancipated Negroes might be sent. A correspondence followed between President Jefferson and the Sierra Leone company, and afterwards with the government of Portugal; but obstacles presented, and that project was at length abandoned.

'The plan of a Colonization *Society*, it is generally considered, was proposed by the Rev. Robert Finley, of New-Jersey. He, it seems, devoted much thought to the subject in 1814, as also in 1815. It is also evident that the Rev.

Samuel J. Mills, of Connecticut, was not, at this time, without the conception of the great plan, in his own mind. Some, who assert that they speak from personal knowledge, represent Mr. Mills as the man, who, under God, was at the foundation of this institution. Be that as it may, he was, confessedly, a warm advocate for the measure, and greatly efficient in bringing about the desired result. The American Colonization Society was formed, as I have said, in 1816; and in the steps immediately preliminary to its organization, are recorded the names of Mr. Finley, Mr. Mills, the Hon. C. F. Mercer of Virginia, and F. S. Key and E. B. Caldwell, Esqrs. of Washington. Among those who attended the first meeting, for the organization of the Society, may be mentioned also as conspicuous, the Hon. Bushrod Washington, who was first President of the Society, and the Hon. Henry Clay, one of its earliest Vice-Presidents.

'The first emigration of coloured people to Africa, from the United States, was in 1815, about a year previous to the formation of the American Colonization Society. This expedition was under the direction of Paul Cuffee, a coloured man, and truly respectable, benevolent and wealthy member of the denomination of Friends. Capt. Cuffee, whose home was in New Bedford, Mass., sailed from Boston, in his own vessel, taking with him thirty-eight persons to Sierra Leone, thirty of whom he carried out gratuitously, at an expense to himself of more than three thousand dollars.'

'Did you say that he was a coloured man, Pa?'

'I did; and very much of a gentleman he was too. His father was a poor African whom the hand of unfeeling avarice dragged from his native home and connexions into

slavery; but by his good conduct, faithfulness and persevering industry, in time obtained his freedom. Paul was poor in his early days; but was industrious and enterprising, by which traits, joined to much practical wisdom and sterling common sense, he at length arose to opulence. He was largely concerned in commerce; and in many voyages, to Russia, England, Africa, the West Indies, and Southern States, commanded his own ship. A man of the strictest integrity, modest and yet dignified in his manners, of a feeling and liberal heart, public spirited and versed in the business of the world, his acquaintance and friendship were valued by many who greatly honoured him, both in this country and in Europe. I remember seeing him often, in my youth. The last time, which I recollect seeing him was as he was passing through my native place, in his own private family carriage, drawn by beautiful white horses, with a coachman of his own complexion, on his way to attend a Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, of which I have said he was a worthy and highly respected member.

'In 1818, the American Colonization Society appointed as agents, the Rev. Samuel John Mills, whose labours and prayers, in the short time that he lived, accomplished much for the glory of God, and laid the foundation for great results in the conversion of perishing heathen; and the Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, now Dr. Burgess, the excellent Pastor of one of the churches in New-England; and instructed them to proceed to the coast of Africa, by the way of England, to make the necessary inquiries for a suitable location of a colony.

'These gentlemen visited all the ports from Sierra Leone to Sherbro, and acquired much valuable information. Mr. Mills, as you know, died on the passage from Africa, leav-

ing the church to mourn the loss of one of the best and most useful of men.

'You recollect, probably, the just and eloquent tribute to the memory of this man of God, by the Rev. Mr. Bacon of New Haven. Mr. Bacon, you know; and know also that he is the ardent and faithful friend of Africa. I must, through respect to the memory of the sainted Mills, read to you an extract from Mr. Bacon's discourse. We will then postpone any further conversation until evening, when we will hope to resume the subject.'

"A young minister of the gospel once said to an intimate friend, 'My brother, you and I are little men, but before we die, our influence must be felt on the other side of the world.' Not many years after, a ship, returning from a distant quarter of the globe, paused on her passage across the deep. There stood on her deck a man of God, who wept over the dead body of his friend. He prayed, and the sailors wept with him. And they consigned that body to the ocean. It was the body of the man who, in the ardour of youthful benevolence, had aspired to extend his influence through the world. He died in youth; but he had redeemed his pledge; and at this hour, his influence is felt in Asia, in Africa, in the Islands of the sea, and in every corner of his native country.

"This was Samuel John Mills; and all who know his history, will say that I have exaggerated neither the grandeur of his aspirations, nor the result of his efforts. He traversed our land like a ministering spirit, silently, and yet effectually, from the hill country of the Pilgrims to the valley of the Missouri. He wandered on errands of benevolence from village to village, and from city to city, pleading now with the patriot for a country growing up to an immensity of power, and now with the christian, for a world

lying in wickedness. He explored in person the desolations of the West, and in person he stirred up to enterprise and effort the churches of the East. He lived for India and Owhyhee, and died in the service of Africa. He went to heaven in his youth; but his works do follow him, like a long train of glory that still widens and brightens, and will widen and brighten for ever."

'Let me repeat,' said Caroline, 'as a supplement to the truly eloquent extract from Mr. Bacon's eulogium, the poetry of one whom I love to quote, and whose effusions you, Pa, and Henry, both love to hear, and then I will consent to adjourn; although, I confess, I shall long for the evening to come, to resume the subject, for I have become deeply interested.'

'I will hear you with pleasure, Caroline,' said her father.

Caroline remarked, 'They are the lines of Mrs. Sigourney, on reading the Biography of the

REV. SAMUEL J. MILLS.

"Oh Africk! raise thy voice and weep
For him who sought to heal thy wo,
Whose bones beneath the briny deep
Bleach where the pearl and coral glow.

Unfetter'd by the wiles of earth,
And girded for the race of heaven,
Even from his dedicated birth
To God and thee his soul was given.

In hermit cells of prayerful thought,
In meditation's holy sphere,
He nursed that sacred wish which sought
The darkness of a world to cheer.

Samuel John Mills.

Our western wilds where outcasts roam,
Sad India's vales with blood defac'd,
Blest Obookiah's sea-girt home
The ardour of his zeal embrac'd.

But thou, indebted clime, that drew
Through torrid seas his stranger sail,
Whose tall cliffs heard his fond adieu,
Pour forth the wildest, bitterest wail."

CONVERSATION XX.

"Many circumstances at present seem to concur in brightening the prospects of the Society, and cherishing the hope that the time will come when the dreadful calamity which has so long afflicted our country, and filled so many with despair, will be gradually removed, and by means consistent with justice, peace, and the general satisfaction: thus giving to our country the full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, and to the world the full benefit of its great example."—*James Madison.*

Mr. L. remarked, at the opening of this conversation, 'It has occurred to me that, in mentioning the early friends of Africa, I ought not to have omitted mentioning more particularly the name of Anthony Benezet. His name will live, whilst virtue and benevolence are respected among men; and his earnestness in the cause of humanity will be remembered when the history of Africa's redemption shall be written. Benezet established a free school in Philadelphia for the education of coloured people, which is still in operation in Willing's alley, Philadelphia, and at which John Williams and Peter Harris, interesting youths from the native tribes of Bassa Cove, have been partially educated; the former of whom has returned to Africa, and the latter, an African prince, is now at Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., for the completion of his education. Benezet was always prompt to plead in the behalf of the coloured race, as, to their honour be it told, have ever been the respectable Society of Friends,

of which he was a member, to feel a deep concern to ameliorate the condition of this unhappy class of their fellow-men. Benezet early caused to be republished in Philadelphia the celebrated tract of Granville Sharp, on the "injustice of slavery," and also wrote and published a work on the subject himself, which was republished in England. He commenced a correspondence with Mr. Sharp on the subject of slavery in 1772; of this correspondence I will give you another extract:—"I doubt not," he writes, "but thou wilt, upon inquiry, find more well-minded people ready to cry thee 'God speed,' in this weighty service, than thou art aware of. The most solid amongst all dissenters, particularly the Presbyterians, would be well-pleased to see an end put to the slave-trade, and many, to slavery itself. The people of New England have made a law that nearly amounts to a prohibition of the trade, and I am informed, have proposed to the governor and council, that all Negroes born in the country shall be free at a certain age. The people of Maryland and Virginia, are so convinced of the inexpediency, if not of the iniquity of any further importation of Negroes, that twenty thousand people would freely join in a petition to parliament, against any further import."

'Roberts Vaux, in his life of Benezet, says, "During the sitting of the legislature, in 1780, a session memorable for the enactment of a law which commenced the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania," Benezet "had private interviews on the subject with every member of the government, and no doubt thus essentially contributed to the adoption of that celebrated measure."

'I will now endeavour to satisfy your inquiry in respect to the *object* of the American Colonization Society. This can be done in a few words, by referring to the constitution

itself, of the Society, the first two articles of which are as follows:

'"Article I. This Society shall be called the American Society FOR COLONIZING THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR of the United States.

'"Article II. The OBJECT to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is TO PROMOTE AND EXECUTE A PLAN FOR COLONIZING, WITH THEIR CONSENT, THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR RESIDING IN OUR COUNTRY, IN AFRICA, OR SUCH OTHER PLACE AS CONGRESS SHALL DEEM EXPEDIENT."

'Is this alone the object of the Society?' said Caroline, 'I had supposed that it contemplated also the suppression of the slave-trade, and also the final emancipation of slaves in our country.'

'Its whole object,' said Mr. L., 'is stated in the second article of its constitution. Other important ends may be obtained as the means of establishing and building up the colony, or as consequences of the efforts for colonization; but this is the one object it has in view. Pursuing this one object, the North and the South may unite in harmonious action.

'The subject of emancipation it passes by, knowing that this belongs exclusively to the several States in which slavery is tolerated, and to individual proprietors in those States, under and according to their laws. The subject of the slave-trade is not contemplated directly in the constitution of the Society, for the authority for its suppression is vested only in the government of the nations. Nor does it directly aim at the education and improvement of the blacks in this country; for this must be under the direction of State governments, or of State Societies, and no interference in the do-

mestic concerns of any one State, is admissible on the part of inhabitants of another State. At the same time, to use the language of one of its Vice-Presidents, Mr. Clay, "It hopes that if it shall demonstrate the practicability of the successful removal to Africa, of free persons of colour, with their own consent; the cause of emancipation, either by States or by individuals, may be incidentally advanced. At the same time, our country will be relieved of a great evil in proportion as colonization succeeds; those who may remove will find their condition greatly improved; and by introducing knowledge, industry, and religion into Africa, we shall contribute to the suppression of the slave-trade, and to the civilization and conversion of a CONTINENT! These are ends which will be obtained although the object of the Society is one."

'The course which the Society takes, unites a greater number of judicious and well disposed persons of every section of our common country, probably, than any other plan could. It is true, there are not a few who object: the slave-holder has, in some instances, indulged the suspicion that an interference "with the rights of property," may be intended; and the advocate of general and immediate emancipation without discrimination, has cast upon the Society his keenest reproaches, alleging that its influence, if not its direct object, is to perpetuate the existence of slavery. These objections, however, so diametrically opposite, many advocates of colonization regard as matter of felicitation, rather than otherwise, inasmuch as they evince the wisdom of the plan of operation which is proposed. The virulent denunciations of both extremes of public sentiment, they say, were to be expected by a Society rejecting the hurtful in the views of either, although adopting the liberal in both. Besides, had it been warmly espoused at the first by either, it would have

been irreconcileably opposed by the other, and would have been itself the dividing line between two great parties, leaving no middle ground on which the great majority of the nation might stand, as now, and safely urge forward this cause of philanthropy and of patriotism, without compromise of principles, or the violation of the constitution and endangerment of the Union.'

'This Society,' Caroline here remarked, 'we know, is approved by many judicious and good men, and I do not see why it should be opposed, or suspected of designing to take any other course than that which it has taken, and still pursues. "Charity thinketh no evil."'

And Henry said, 'I wonder how the subject would strike the mind of a man of enlarged views and philanthropic soul, who was in a situation to see it as it is, and to judge without prejudice. I should think now, that the opinion of such a man as LAFAYETTE, would be worthy of regard; if he approved of colonization, or disapproved of it, I should think that his unprejudiced opinion would have influence.'

'Lafayette was a Vice-President of the Colonization Society, Henry,' said Caroline.

'O no, Caroline,' said H.; 'are you not mistaken?'

'Yes,' said Mr. L., 'Lafayette was an honorary Vice-President of the Colonization Society. And we have his opinion, expressly, on the subject of colonization. In a letter, dated at "Paris, Oct. 29, 1831," he says, "The progressing state of our Liberia establishment, is to me a source of enjoyment and the most lively interest. PROUD AS I AM OF THE HONOUR of being one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, I only regret that I cannot make myself more use-

ful. * * When the Society meet, be pleased to present my wishes, gratitude, and respect." '

'Who are some of the other officers of the Society; many of our most distinguished public men?'

'It has enjoyed both the entire confidence of our most distinguished men, and the high honour of their influence and services as its members and officers. Some of these "are not, for God has taken them;" others are with us, and long may they be spared to help forward the cause of colonization, and as ornaments and blessings in the world. The Hon. Bushrod Washington, I have already named, as its first President. Charles Carroll was President of the Society after the death of Judge Washington. James Madison was its late President. The late Chief-Justice Marshall and the venerable and lamented Bishop White have been among its Vice-Presidents; also, Hon. Wm. H. Crawford and Bishop McKendree.

'Among its present officers are Henry Clay of Kentucky, John C. Herbert of Maryland, Robert Ralston of Philadelphia, Samuel Bayard of New-Jersey, Daniel Webster of Boston, Gen. Mercer of Va., President Day of Yale College, John Cotton Smith of Conn., Theo. Frelinghuysen of N. Jersey, Gerrit Smith of N. York, Bishop Meade of Va., Samuel Southard of N. Jersey, and—I will not undertake to enumerate more, although I might recollect and mention many others of distinguished eminence in different parts of the Union. The Colonization Society has, indeed, become an object of admiration in different parts of the globe.'

'I recollect,' said Henry, 'among those whose approbation it received, the name of Wilberforce.'

'In respect to Wilberforce, your apprehension is correct that it *received* his approbation,' said Mr. L., "*Troja fuit!*" It may be considered a mooted point, however, as relates to the final decision of the mind of the philanthropic and lamented Wilberforce. It is asserted that he withdrew confidence from the cause, although he had been the unhesitating friend and advocate of colonization. In regard to this matter, Dr. Hodgkin, of London, says that "Wilberforce continued to avow his approbation of the Society until near the period of his lamented death, when the *exparte* statements of those who knew the importance of his authority, obtained a triumph, the achievement of which confers no honour."

'The Society has not been without many and distinguished friends abroad, however. Lord Althorp, the late learned Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the most enlightened and distinguished noblemen of England, has publicly pronounced the foundation of the Colony of Liberia to be "one of the greatest events of modern times." The immortal Clarkson, whose labours in the cause of African freedom have been greater than those of almost any other man living, is "strongly attached to the Society;" the Duke of Sussex, Lord Bexley, the Duke of Bedford, the Archbishop of Dublin, and others of the highest standing in society, are officers of a Society denominated THE BRITISH AFRICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, which has been formed in Great Britain in aid of the colonization enterprise. They consider the plan of the American Colonization Society as "admirably adapted to introduce christianity and civilization among the natives of Africa, and to extirpate the slave-trade, which the moral efforts of Great Britain and other powers, have been unable to suppress." I might mention many

eminent foreigners who have expressed their decided approbation of the Society.'

'Auxiliaries are found, I presume, in almost every State of the Union; are they not, Pa?'

'I am not able to specify the number, but I recollect there are State and other auxiliaries in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Delaware; and resolutions approving of the Society, have been passed by the Legislatures of most of these and other States, and by most of these also the American Colonization Society has been recommended to the patronage of the General Government.

'Some of the States have made conditional appropriations from their respective treasuries. Maryland has set a noble example to her sister States by granting $200,000 from her treasury—that is, the sum of $20,000 annually for ten years—to enable the free blacks of Maryland, if they feel disposed, to remove to Liberia.

'The Society has also received the approbation of all prominent denominations, by the acts of their ecclesiastical judicatories, whether assemblies, general associations, synods, classes, meetings, or conventions. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, the Dutch Reformed, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, Lutherans, Moravians, and Friends, have thought proper, in their larger ecclesiastical bodies, to commend the objects of the Society to the patronage and good wishes of the community.'

'Has the Society considerable funds by which to sustain its operations?'

Funds.

'It has almost none, aside from voluntary contributions, which are made from week to week. Its income, however, from these sources, has been considerable, and gradually increasing from its commencement. From 1821 to 1828 inclusive, the amount of donations was nearly $83,000. In 1829, it was upwards of $20,000. In 1830, more than $27,000. In 1831, rising $32,000. In 1832, more than $32,000. In 1833, $49,000. In 1834–5, nearly $52,000. A heavy debt which had accumulated upon it, and had like, for a time, to have disheartened its friends and suspended its operations, has, by a better arrangement in respect to its fiscal operations, been nearly extinguished, and its prospects are again brightening.

'In our next conversation, we will turn our attention to LIBERIA.'

CONVERSATION XXI.

"Yes! thy proud lords, unpitying band, shall see
That man hath yet a soul, and dare be free;
A little while, along thy saddening plains,
The starless night of desolation reigns;
Truth shall restore the light by Nature given,
And, like Prometheus, bring the fire of heaven!
Prone to the dust Oppression shall be hurl'd—
Her name, her nature, wither'd from the world."

Campbell.

'You promised, in our last conversation,' said Caroline, 'that we should this morning hear something of the history of LIBERIA; and I assure you, Pa, that Henry and I have a great deal of curiosity to satisfy on this subject, so that you may expect to be troubled with a great many questions. Why, Sir, was the district in which the colony is located, called *Liberia?*'

'I am much gratified to find that you both take so deep an interest in the subject; and shall be pleased to hear and to reply to as many inquiries as you may feel inclined to make.

'The name "Liberia," was given to the colony, because it is *the land of the free'd;* the name being coined from the Latin adjective "liber," or "libera," *free.*

'The central point of this colony is Cape Mesurado, or Montserado, which is represented as a most beautiful and commanding site. Liberia is situated about 5 degrees N. of the equator, and 250 miles S. of Sierra Leone, the English colony. It extends along the coast to the length of 150 or 300 miles; and reaches into the interior indefinitely. Rivers, some of considerable size, water the country throughout. The soil is extremely fertile, and abounds in all the productions of tropical climates. The population, at the present time, is more than 4,000; perhaps it may be, as is estimated by some, 5 or 6,000.

'The chief city is *Monrovia;* so called in honour of the late ex-President of the United States, James Monroe. It is situated on Cape Montserado, at the mouth of the Mesurado river; and contains about 500 houses and stores—a court-house—six churches, one Episcopal, one Presbyterian, two Methodist, and two Baptist—three flourishing schools, one of which has upwards of 100 scholars—a temperance society, numbering upwards of 500 members—and about 1500 inhabitants. The houses are generally well built, and of a pleasant appearance. The city is seventy feet above the sea; and the temperature is mild and agreeable, the thermometer not varying more than from 68 to 87 deg., and the inhabitants enjoying, most of the time, a refreshing sea-breeze. The streets are 100 feet wide, crossing each other at right angles. The harbour, which is formed by the mouth of the river, is convenient and capacious for vessels of moderate dimensions.

'Seven miles north of the outlet of the Mesurado, is the river St. Paul's, on which is the town of *Caldwell.* This town, after the plan of some American villages, has but one street, which, a mile and a half long, is planted on either side with a beautiful row of plaintain and banana trees.

Caldwell is an agricultural establishment, and is flourishing. It has three churches, three day schools, and three Sunday schools. It is an interesting fact than one of the native kings recently applied at one of these day schools for admission of twelve children; which, however, could not be received as the school was already full.

'Between Caldwell and Monrovia is another settlement called *Stockton*. And on the opposite side of the bay of Stockton, is a settlement of recaptured Africans, called *New Georgia*, and planted in part, by the aid of our General Government. It contains 500 inhabitants, who, although they were once the miserable tenants, in chains, of the loathsome slave-ship, are now living in the enjoyment of the blessings of christian and civilized life. This place has a church and more than two hundred houses. Mr. Buchanan, Agent of the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania, who visited the place, says respecting this settlement, "The air of perfect neatness, thrift, and comfort, which every where prevails, affords a lovely commentary on the advancement which these interesting people have made in civilization and christian order, under the patronage of the Colonization Society. Imagine to yourself, some two or three hundred houses, with streets intersecting each other at regular distances, preserved clean as the best swept side-walk in Philadelphia, and lined with well planted hedges of Cassava and of Plum; a school-house full of orderly children, neatly dressed, and studiously engaged; and then say whether I was guilty of extravagance, in exclaiming as I did, after surveying this most lovely scene, that had the Colonization Society accomplished no more than has been done in the rescue from slavery and savage habits of these happy people, I should have been well satisfied."

'North-east of Monrovia, twenty miles, on the same

river, at the foot of the highlands, is another flourishing town called *Millsburgh*, containing about 500 inhabitants, two churches, and one school, and rapidly increasing by new colonists. Millsburgh has peculiar advantages, many navigable streams enabling it to become the commercial medium between the interior and the sea-coast. The land is fertile, and the forests abound with excellent timber. The town is represented as very neat and healthy.

"Another considerable settlement in Liberia, is that formed under the patronage of the Maryland Colonization Society, at Cape Palmas. This colony, which now numbers between three and four hundred inhabitants, is advantageously located for health, and promises to excel in agriculture. Its inhabitants are represented as temperate, intelligent, and industrious; and as giving evidence of mental as well as physical energy, that greatly encourages the confident hope and expectation that they will yet occupy an honourable rank among the civilized world.

'I must give you an extract from an address from this colony to the coloured people of the United States. "We wish," say they, "to be candid. It is not every man that we can honestly advise, or desire to come to this country. To those who are contented to live and educate their children as house servants and lackeys, we would say, *stay where you are;* here we have no masters to employ you. To the indolent, heedless, and slothful, we would say, tarry among the flesh-pots of Egypt; here we get our bread by the sweat of our brow. To drunkards and rioters, we would say, come not to us; you never can become naturalized in a land where there are no grog-shops, and where temperance and order is the motto. To the timorous and suspicious, we would say, stay where you have protectors; here we protect ourselves. But the industrious, enterpris-

ing, and patriotic, of whatever occupation, or enterprise—the mechanic, the merchant, the farmer, (and especially the latter,) we would counsel, advise, and entreat, to come over, and be one with us, and assist us in this glorious enterprise, and enjoy with us that liberty to which we ever were, and to which the man of colour ever must be a stranger, in America. To the ministers of the gospel, both white and coloured, we would say, come over to this great harvest, and diffuse amongst us and our benighted neighbours, the light of the gospel, without which liberty itself is but slavery, and freedom perpetual bondage."

'Besides, there is the flourishing settlement more recently commenced at Bassa Cove, of which I will give you a particular account at another time.'

'The prosperity of Liberia is truly wonderful,' said Henry; 'but I have heard it asserted,' he continued, 'that the soil is *sterile*. It has been said that the country is mostly a *desert*.'

'A more fertile soil, Henry, and a more productive country, I suspect it would be difficult to find on the face of the earth. Its hills and its plains are covered with a verdure that never fades; the productions of nature keep on in their growth through all seasons of the year; and even the natives of the country, almost without farming tools or skill, with very little labour, make more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell. They who represent Liberia as sterile, must do so through pitiable ignorance, or a criminal design to injure the colony.

'It is true, there are in Africa, extensive deserts: but what should we think of an attempt to persuade us, who are surrounded with the luxuries of a genial soil and climate,

that our continent is an uninhabitable waste, because it contains within its limits, "rocky mountains," "dismal swamps," and "barrens."

'Mr. Park, the traveller, says, "All the rich and valuable productions, both of the East and West Indies, might easily be naturalized, and brought to the utmost perfection in the tropical parts of this immense continent. Nothing is wanting to this end, but example to enlighten the minds of the natives, and instruction to enable them to direct their industry to proper objects. It was not possible for me to behold the wonderful fertility of the soil; the vast herds of cattle, proper both for labour and food; and a variety of other circumstances favourable to colonization and agriculture; and reflect, withal, on the means which presented themselves of a vast inland navigation; without lamenting that a country so gifted and favoured by nature, should remain in its present savage and neglected state."

'Indeed, all tourists and journalists, who have explored the continent of Africa, whilst they find barren spots, picture also widely extended regions of the most exuberant and astonishing fertility—an exuberance affording so rich and spontaneous a profusion of productions, that the ungoverned natives have not the necessary excitement to exertion. Liberia lays claim, supported by the testimony of undoubted witnesses, to equal fertility with any other portion of the continent.

'The colonists have all the domestic animals which are found in this country. They raise a great variety of vegetables and tropical fruits. Coffee grows spontaneously, and of an excellent kind. The attention of several of the most respectable colonists has been turned to its cultivation, and 20,000 coffee trees have been planted by a single individual. The indigo plant is indigenous, and grows wild almost every

where on the coast; cotton is easily cultivated and the crops are productive; the sugar-cane is found on many parts of the coast of Africa, and may be cultivated in Liberia; rice is easy of cultivation, and has long been the principal article of food to the natives; bananas of an excellent and delicious kind, plantains, oranges, fine flavoured and very large, and limes, are common; maize, or Indian corn, ripens in three months, and succeeds well; pine apples are very good and in great abundance; cocoa-nut trees flourish well; pumpkins, squashes or simelins, cucumbers, water-melons, and musk-melons, arrive at great perfection in that climate; cassada and yams are found in all parts of the coast, and are much used for food; palm oil is produced in abundance; tamarinds of various kinds; gum senega and copal are articles of export in vast quantities; pepper, and a variety of other spices, including cayenne, ginger, cubeds, cardamum, nutmegs, and cinnamon, are common on the coast; several valuable dye-woods are found, of which Camwood and Barwood are exported in considerable quantities; gold abounds in many parts of Africa, and the amount exported may be greatly increased; ivory is also a great article of commerce, and timber of almost every quality. All these, and many other productions, are found in Africa, and are, or may be, sources of advantage and of profit to the Liberian colony. The late colonial agent speaks of seeing at one of the beautiful villages of the recaptured Africans, a tract of one hundred acres planted with cassada, interspersed with patches of Indian corn and sweet potatoes.'

'The colony, I should think, would enjoy very considerable commercial advantages.'

'Yes, Henry; such is the position of the colony, that its

commercial advantages are great. It is the central point in a long extent of sea coast; and extensive relations of trade may be established between it and a vast interior. New avenues are continually opening with the interior tribes, and no one can calculate the importance which some parts of Liberia may be expected to assume at some future, and not far distant day.'

'The colony is already engaged considerably in commerce, is it not, Sir?'

'Yes; and, my son, it may be interesting to notice the progress which the colony is making in this department of wealth and prosperity. From January 7, 1826, to June 15, 1826, the nett profits on wood and ivory alone, passing through the hands of the settlers, was $30,786. Passing on to 1829, we find the *exports* of African products to amount to $60,000. In 1831, 46 vessels, 21 of which were American, visited the colony, and the amount of exports was $88,911. During the year ending May 1, 1832, 59 vessels had visited the port of Monrovia, and the exports during the same period amounted to $125,549 16, whilst the imports amounted to $80,000.

'A portion of the colonists are continually and actively engaged in trade, disposing to the natives, of English and American, and other goods, and receiving in return dye-woods, ivory, hides, gold, palm oil, tortoise shell, rice, &c., which become articles of exportation and of great profit.

'Hand in hand with the progress of civilization, will be the march of commerce. Even now, the harbour of Monrovia presents, at times, a most animating scene to the beholder, of commercial activity and enterprise. You may see there often a harbour crowded with sails—they are an-

choring and taking their departure—lading and unlading—warehouses are stored with rich cargoes—drays and carts in their confusion, are turning their rapid wheels—you hear the busy hum of industry—you see the alert movements of a busy multitude, once, most of them, sluggard slaves! Freedom has transformed them into another kind of men.

'Elliott Cresson, Esq., a generous and constant friend of the African race, as well as sincere patriot, who has already achieved for himself imperishable honour by his indefatigable and disinterested efforts in the cause of this noble philanthropy, thus expresses himself in an address before the Colonization Society, at their fourteenth anniversary, which was as long ago as 1831:—"Only nine years have elapsed since the little band of colonists landed at the cape, and a nation has already sprang into existence—a nation destined to secure to Æthiopia the fulfilment of the glorious prophecy made in her behalf. Already have kings thrown down their crowns at the feet of the infant republic, and formed with her a holy alliance, for the holy purpose of exchanging the guilty traffic in human flesh and blood for legitimate commerce, equal laws, civilization and religion.

"From many an ancient river,
From many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver
Their land from error's chain."

They ask for schools, factories, churches. Nearly 2,000 freemen have kindled a beacon fire at Monrovia, to cast a broad blaze of light into the dark recesses of that benighted land; and although much pains has been taken to overrate the cost, and undervalue the results, yet the annals of colonization may be triumphantly challenged for a parallel. Five years of preliminary operations were requisite for surveying the coast, propitiating the natives, and selecting the most eli-

gible site; numerous agents were subsequently employed, ships chartered, the forest cleared; school-houses, factories, hospitals, churches, government buildings, and dwellings erected, and the many expenses requisite here defrayed; and yet, for every $50 expended by our Society from its commencement, we have not only a settler to show, but an ample and fertile territory in reserve, where our future emigrants may sit under their own vines and fig trees with none to make them afraid. During the last year, an amount nearly equal to the united expenditures in effecting these objects, has been exported by the colonists; and from Philadelphia alone, 11 vessels have sailed, bearing to the land of their forefathers a large number of slaves manumitted by the benevolence of their late owners." Much more may be said in reference to the greatness of the success of the colony at the present time.'

CONVERSATION XXII.

"The condition of Africa, just in proportion as she is improved, will reflect beneficial influences on our own country. As Africa rises in the scale of improvement, and sends over the earth a respect for her name and her people, so shall we look with increasing interest and sympathy upon her degraded children that are cast on our shores. And just in proportion as she emerges from barbarism, and puts on the garments of civilization, will she attract our coloured people to return to her, and dispel the dread which is now common to them, of emigrating to a land of barbarism."

Gerrit Smith.

'The unhealthiness of the climate, I suppose, is the greatest obstacle in the way of the prosperity of the colony at Liberia, is it not, Pa?' said Caroline, on resuming the conversation.

'Liberia has the reputation among many of being unhealthy,' said Mr. L. 'If we should judge, however, only by the health of the natives on that part of the African coast, we should suppose it to be far otherwise. It is healthy, it appears, to acclimated emigrants. When once acclimated, it is said by those who are competent to decide, and who could have no inducement to make an erroneous report, that Africa proves a more genial climate to the men of colour than any portion of the United States. They enjoy, in Liberia, even now, a greater immunity from sickness, and the

proportion of deaths is less than in Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New-York.'

'Have not a great proportion of those who have emigrated died soon after their arrival?'

'It was to be expected that during the early years of the colony, many deaths would occur for want of suitable houses, on account of the fatigue and danger to which the colonists were necessarily exposed; and in consequence of the irregular mode of life at first almost unavoidable.

'An unfortunate selection was made for the *first* emigrants, which increased the mortality among them. They found it impossible to obtain at that time a more suitable place, and were compelled, by a variety of untoward circumstances, to make a temporary establishment in the low, unhealthy island of Sherbro. While here detained, endeavouring to purchase land, they were attacked by fatal disease, which carried off the agent of the Society and twenty out of eighty emigrants, together with two agents sent out by the United States Government. The second expedition also suffered much by sickness and death. And deaths were also frequent among the colonists on their first arrival for some time. From 1827 to 1832, however, five years, not one person in forty of those from the Middle and Southern States, died in Liberia from change of climate. And later experience has proved that no unusual danger is to be apprehended by any who are sober, and have no radical defect of constitution. The change of climate, it was to be expected, would be felt more sensibly by those who go from the Northern States, or from the mountainous parts of the Middle States.

'There is to me one consideration which amidst all that

has been most discouraging in the early mortality of the African colony, has been comforting. It is this: whilst the mortality is to be attributed but partially to causes which cannot be controlled, the evil is *limited to a single generation:* but the good accomplished by colonization is to bless *all succeeding generations.* The natives of no country enjoy better health than those of Africa; and the children hereafter born to those who emigrate, will be Africans, and know nothing of the dangers which their forefathers may have encountered.

'The settlement of new places is generally attended with trials by sickness. What is the fact in respect to the now flourishing state of Louisiana? The colony of Ibberville was begun to be settled in 1699, and in the ensuing thirteen years, 2,500 colonists were landed there, out of whom only 400 whites and 20 negroes remained at the end of that time. On the Island of Orleans, where a settlement was begun in 1717, the early settlers died by hundreds; and both settlements were given up once or twice, by those who began them, and commenced anew by other hands.

'It was so with Jamestown: it was so with Plymouth, although in a northern climate. They were both desolated by sickness, and the mortality was far greater than it has ever been in Liberia. Five hundred emigrants, at one time landed in Jamestown, in Virginia, and in less than five months their numbers were reduced to sixty. Disaster and defeat seemed to embitter all the struggles of the Pilgrim fathers at Plymouth. More than half their number died the first winter. And yet from the two feeble settlements, at Plymouth and Jamestown, has sprung a population which, in spite of discouragements, have erected towns, cities, and an empire!

'It has been remarked in regard to these early trials of

colonies, by the eloquent and excellent Frelinghuysen, that "such has been the course of divine Providence with all colonies, of which either sacred or profane history affords us any account, that He intended to cherish or to establish. It is the moral and mental discipline which God would prescribe; it is the discipline, of all others, calculated to throw the human mind upon its own resources—to try its strength —to call into action its powers, and, if there be energy within it or about it, it will be called into action. It tries its strength—its patience—its fortitude. In fact all the sterner virtues are *created* by this scheme of colonization. And it teaches, above all, other lessons, for man to learn—his deep dependence on divine power. How was it with the Jews, who were a called and *chosen people?* Were they not subjected to trials and difficulties? How did God act toward them? After years of gloomy and grinding bondage in Egypt, did he not send them to the land of promise? He knew they were degraded and debased by moral and corporeal bondage. And indeed their debasement we clearly learn from their complaints. He put them to the trials which await colonization. He led them through the howling wilderness. He required them to endure fatigue —to meet the enemy's onslaught. In the divine wisdom and mercy they were subjected to these conflicts, dangers and terrors, both by night and by day. And when discipline had done its office, and when liberty and the promised land were in view, (and even then, they enjoyed not a bed of down,) even then, they were to contend for every inch of land they were about to acquire."

'In respect to Liberia, however, we are not reduced to the necessity of reasoning from analogy; we have *facts:* colonies have been established on the coast of Africa, and are flourishing. Sierra Leone, after many sad reverses in

its infancy, is now a thriving territory with 20,000 inhabitants. It was founded under the most unfavourable circumstances, those who first composed it, coming from a northern latitude, Nova Scotia, or the streets of London. Besides, bad habits prevailed among them, and did more for their destruction than the climate.

'Another consideration has been one of interest to me, amidst all discouraging reports concerning the health of the first emigrants: if colonies can be once planted along the shores of Africa, and the slave-trade cut off, a vast sacrifice of life will thereby be prevented. In a single slave-ship, more persons have perished, often in indescribable agony, than have died from the influence of climate, since the origin of the colony of Liberia. The slave-trade, it has been well remarked by Judge Story of Massachusetts, "desolates whole villages and provinces. * * The blood of thousands of the miserable children of Africa has stained her shores, or quenched the dying embers of her desolated towns, to glut the appetite of slave-dealers. The ocean has received in its deep and silent bosom, thousands more, who perished from disease and want, during their passage from their native homes" to foreign climes.

'It has been ascertained that an average of not less than 100,000 per annum, have been transported from Africa, and that half the number have ordinarily died within two years, either during the passage or seasoning. *Fifty thousand* deaths every year, occasioned by the *slave-trade!* In the name of humanity and of our holy religion, then, we may ask every one to judge whether the glorious work of establishing civilized and christian colonies along the coast of Africa shall be abandoned, because some few suffer and die in efforts to redeem themselves and save their dying fellow-men? The amount of suffering *prevented*, and the lives

saved by the American Colonization Society, is incalculable; vastly more than all the sacrifice of life, and all the sufferings or privations which will ever be endured in accomplishing the regeneration of that great continent and the salvation of generation after generation of untold millions.

'To be useful, is to be blessed. And our Saviour has said "It is more blessed to give than to receive." They who laid the foundations of the colony at Liberia, will testify that they have already reaped a rich reward for all their toils. They will unitedly declare that the blessings now theirs, have a value far beyond the price they cost. When they look to the future—when they consider the privileges and blessings secured to their posterity, they feel that the worth of these is inestimable. And they who fell martyrs in sounding the trump of jubilee in the land of the oppressed—in a land of comparative barbarism, to call the nations forth to the light and blessings of civilized life—in a land of blood and crime, to hold up before the people the sign of the cross, that purity and peace, the hope of immortal glory and everlasting songs of salvation, may supplant the dark influence of the destroyer of souls, have fallen in a noble attempt, and will be held in grateful remembrance by generations yet unborn.

'A very sensible address is now before me, adopted "at a numerous meeting of the citizens of Monrovia," in Liberia, which speaks well to the point. The meeting, it seems, was called, and held at the court-house in Monrovia, in 1827, "for the purpose of considering the expediency of uniting in an address to the coloured people of the United States." In the address they say,—

'"We enjoy health, after a few months' residence in this country, as uniformly, and in as perfect a degree as we possessed that blessing in our native country. * * Death occa-

sionally takes a victim from our number, without any regard at all to his residence in the country; but we never hoped by leaving America to escape the common lot of mortals. But we do expect to live as long, and pass this life with as little sickness as yourselves. * * * Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in the colony; nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. The change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one—too great not to effect the health more or less. In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness which prevailed to an alarming extent, and was attended with great mortality. But we look back to those times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten." '

'I have no doubt,' said Caroline, 'that after the first season, Liberia is a delightful climate for the blacks. They have constitutions probably better adapted to that climate than to ours.'

'Yes, Caroline, the coloured man going to Africa, goes to the land of his fathers, for a residence in which nature has peculiarly fitted him. *We* should sicken and die where the native African, invigorated under the influence of a vertical sun, glories in its blaze, and grapples with the lion of the desert. Expose the African to the cold blasts of a northern clime, he shivers and drags out a miserable existence, whilst the white man can bare *his* bosom to the blast. "Nature," says Mr. Custis, "seems to draw a line of demarcation between the country of the white man and the black."

Need fear no competition.

'It sometimes has been said that Europeans will, notwithstanding the planting of colonies along the coast, and after all that can be done for Africa, hold the mouths of the rivers emptying round the Cape of Western Africa; and that the African will always, therefore, be measurably under the influence of a promiscuous white population. To me, however, it seems most obvious, that the elastic pressure of a coloured population in Africa will, and must, ultimately, exclude all other people. It is the land of the coloured; and we may confidently say of Africa,

"Despite of every yoke she bears,
That land of glory still is theirs."

The advantage in physical constitution which the blacks will enjoy, is one which will give them decided superiority to all other people as occupants of the soil. The puny and sickly colonies of other nations can never compete with them. The sceptre of influence will, without a doubt, be ultimately wielded in Africa by those whom heaven has appointed to wield it, the blacks themselves; they will receive their character chiefly, I have no doubt, from emigrants going from our own shores.

'We must now close the subject for the present. Each of us, I trust, can say in conclusion, from the heart, of that vast, injured, benighted, but awaking continent,

"Oh! to thy godlike destiny arise—
Awake, and meet the purpose of the skies!" '

CONVERSATION XXIII.

"The removal of our coloured population is, I think, a common object, by no means confined to the slave States, although they are more immediately interested in it. The whole Union would be strengthened by it, and relieved from a danger, whose extent can scarcely be estimated."

Chief Justice Marshall.

'You said in your last conversation, Pa,' said Henry, 'that agents of the Government of the United States went out with the first emigrants sent to Africa by the Colonization Society: why were agents sent by the United States?'

'In the act of Congress for the suppression of the slave-trade, passed in the year 1807, there was a clause by which Negroes brought into the United States, in consequence of the law authorizing the capture of vessels engaged in the slave-trade, were to be "subject to any regulations not contravening the provisions of the act, which the legislatures of the several States and Territories might make for the disposing of such Negroes."

'By an act of the Georgia legislature, in 1817, captured Negroes brought into Georgia in pursuance of the aforesaid act of Congress, were to be sold, or delivered to the Colonization Society to be returned to Africa. A slaver contain-

ing thirty-eight Negroes was captured by one of the United States vessels, and brought into Georgia. The Negroes were, according to law, advertised for sale. The Colonization Society, availing itself of the provisions of the law above referred to, applied for the slaves to be returned to Africa, paid as was necessary the expenses incurred on their account, and rescued the victims of piratical cupidity from perpetual slavery.

'Cases of this kind having previously occurred, had directed the attention of Congress to the necessity of providing somewhere an asylum for recaptured Negroes, and a law had been enacted authorizing the President to make such regulations and arrangements as he might deem expedient for their safe-keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, and also to appoint a proper person or persons residing on the coast of Africa, as agent or agents, in the fulfilment of such arrangements in respect to all Negroes seized by United States' vessels.

'It was thought that the ends of this act could be better accomplished by the aid of the Colonization Society; and accordingly, the first expedition to Liberia, in 1820, was by the Colonization Society and the U. S. Government in conjunction. The Elizabeth was chartered, and took to the coast two Government agents, one Colonial agent, and about eighty emigrants, the latter of whom were to be employed at the expense of the Government in preparing accommodations for the reception of the recaptured Negroes.'

'This expedition, Sir, you have said, was very unfortunate in their location, which you said was on the river Sherbro: is that in Liberia?'

'No, Henry; it is 200 miles north of Liberia, and 100

miles south of Sierra Leone. It was not until 1822, that a permanent location was obtained at Cape Mesurado.'

'The colony had much difficulty with the natives at its commencement, had it not?'

'They had; and perhaps it has been correctly said that no struggle of ancient or modern times surpasses the defence which that little band of colonists made. The lamented Ashmun, forced in opposition to all his habits and feelings, to become a warlike commander, acquitted himself in a manner that discovered military skill of the highest order.—Without ever aspiring to military renown, he shone forth, a hero in arms, whose coolness, firmness, wisdom, and courage could hardly be surpassed.

'The little band of thirty-five African emigrants, about one half of whom only were engaged in action, were threatened by a host, whose numbers were untold, and destruction seemed inevitable. Ashmun was himself sick, of fever—and was, besides, in great affliction, having just buried his wife, an amiable and heroic woman who insisted on sharing her husband's toils and dangers in Africa; but notwithstanding, he rose from the bed of sickness, and day by day, after tossing with the delirium of a burning fever through the night, spent his time in directing his little band in constructing their hasty and imperfect defences, and teaching them to manage their artillery, and how to succour each other in their defence.

'The result was—the natives were successfully repulsed, and the colony was saved from destruction; whilst such an impression was made on the natives as to put to rest, probably for ever, any thought of a similar attempt.

'I suppose,' said Henry, 'it is in reference to this exploit particularly, that Ashmun is sometimes called the founder of the colony of Liberia?

'Mr. Ashmun died at New Haven—I have seen his monument—he died soon after arriving there from Liberia for his health. But, falling a victim to his devotion to the cause of colonization, I am sure that he nobly died, in a noble cause.'

'Yes: Mr. Ashmun's great and untiring efforts continuing through nearly six years of constant anxiety and labour in Africa, destroyed his physical constitution and brought him to a *premature* grave; but he fell *nobly*.

'Mr. Ashmun's life, so far at least as is connected with Africa, in which we are now more particularly interested, you will find full of interest.'

'Where was Mr. Ashmun born, Pa, and how came he to embark in the colonization cause, as an agent to Africa?'

'Mr. A., whose christian name was Jehudi, was born in Champlain, N. Y., in 1794. I will relate, if you please, some of the leading incidents of his history as they occur, on recollection.

'In his childhood, Mr. A. was thoughtful and reserved, remarkably fond of books and ambitious of literary distinction. In his studies he made rapid progress. He became a devoted christian in the morning of his days. He graduated at Burlington College, Vt., and soon after entering the ministry was elected Professor in the Theological Seminary at Bangor, Me. After leaving that Seminary, he became a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He prepared the Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Bacon, the earliest martyr

in the cause of colonization; and, after other efforts to advance the cause, by which his feelings were more and more deeply interested, he embarked for Africa in 1822. In Africa, he found himself unexpectedly in a situation where he must be of necessity legislator, engineer, soldier, physician; almost every thing that was needed, his benevolent heart inclined, and his superior talents enabled him to be. Emphatically a good man, he enjoyed the confidence of the colonists, and of the Board, and shared in the warmest affections of all that knew him.

'The scene, at his death, is represented as one of true moral sublimity. He died, as you have said, at New Haven, a few days after his return from Africa, whose shores he had left with feeble health, hoping to find the voyage and a short residence in his native country, conducive to its restoration. It was otherwise ordered. His last moments were spent in fervent prayer. Africa was not forgotten. "*O bless the colony*," was his cry, "*and that poor people among whom I have laboured.*"

'He has left a name to be remembered by generations to come, when many who may now be far more conspicuous, will be forgotten. The gratitude of the Colonization Society* directed the monument to his memory which you

* A monument has also been raised to his memory in Liberia. The monument at New Haven is after the model of an ancient monument still in perfection at Rome, "the tomb of Scipio." Dr. Silliman describes it as "grave, grand, simple, and beautiful." It is constructed of the Connecticut red sand stone, of the finer variety, seven feet long, four high, three and a half wide, raised on a foundation of one foot. It is said above, that the gratitude of the Colonization Society directed this monument; but it is believed and should be stated that the whole expense was borne by the spontaneous contributions and united liberality of friends of humanity and religion, preventing the necessity of making any appropriation towards it from the funds of the Society, and at the same time furnishing a most honoura-

saw at New Haven, but his best monument is in the hearts of the people, and that record of him which is on high.

"Although no sculptured form should deck the place,
Or marble monument those ashes grace,
Still, for the deeds of worth, which he has done,
Would flowers unfading flourish o'er his tomb."'

'A favourite poetess has embalmed his memory,' said Caroline: 'shall I repeat her words?'

"Whose is yon sable bier?
Why move the throng so slow?
Why doth that lonely mother's tear,
In sudden anguish flow?
Why is that sleeper laid
To rest, in manhood's pride?
How gain'd his cheek such pallid shade?
I spake—but none replied.

The hoarse wave murmured low,
The distant surges roar'd—
And o'er the sea, in tones of wo,
A deep response was poured.
I heard sad Afric mourn,
Upon her billowy strand;
A shield was from her bosom torn,
An anchor from her hand.

Ah! well I know thee now,
Though foreign suns would trace
Deep lines of death upon thy brow—
Thou friend of misery's race;
Their leader, when the blast
Of ruthless war swept by;
Their teacher, when the storm was past,
Their guide to worlds on high.

able attestation of the gratitude and respect with which his devotion to the best interests of the world is regarded, and of the sincere affection with which his memory is cherished by those "who have learned to love and to admire the sublimity and glory of virtue."

Ashmun.

But o'er the lowly tomb,
Where thy soul's idol lay,
I saw thee rise above the gloom,
And hold thy changeless way.
Stern sickness woke a flame,
That on thy vigour fed—
But deathless courage nerv'd the frame,
When health and strength had fled.

Spirit of power—pass on!
Thy homeward wing is free;
Earth may not claim thee for her son—
She hath no chain for thee:
Toil might not bow thee down,
Nor sorrow check thy race—
Nor pleasure win thy birthright crown,—
Go to thy honour'd place!"

CONVERSATION XXIV.

"We must plead the cause of Africa on her own shores. We must enlighten the Africans themselves on the nature of this evil. We must raise in their minds a fixed abhorrence of its enormities. There will be no ships with human cargoes if we cut off the supply. We must by our settlements point the African kidnapper to a more profitable commerce than that in the blood and heart-strings of his fellow-men."—*Frelinghuysen.*

'We should like to know this evening, Pa, something more of the colony at Liberia. What is the government of the colony?'

'The government is in a great measure republican; and is designed expressly to prepare the colonists ably and successfully to govern themselves.

'The present form of government was established in August 1824. It was submitted to the assembled colonists, and by them unanimously adopted. The colonial agent receives his appointment from the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society, and it is generally expected that *he* will be a white man. All the other officers are men of colour, the most important of whom are elected annually by the people. Besides other officers, a Board of Agriculture, of Public Works, of Health, &c. are chosen, and the whole business of the colony is conducted with spirit and with much wisdom. A court of justice is established, which consists of the agent,

and two judges chosen by the people, and exercises jurisdiction over the whole colony, meeting monthly at Monrovia.

'It is a highly honourable fact that no capital crime has ever been committed in the colony. The crimes usually brought before the court are thefts committed by natives within the colonial jurisdiction.'

'Do the colonists pay proper attention to education, and have they any considerable literary advantages?'

'The subject of education has ever been one of primary importance with the Board of Colonization, and the interests of literature are promoted as far as circumstances permit. In 1830, the Board established permanent schools in the towns of Monrovia, Caldwell, and Millsburgh. They adopted a thorough system of instruction which is now in successful operation. There are two female schools conducted on liberal principles, one of which was established by a lady in Philadelphia, who sent out the necessary books and teachers. It is said that there is not a child or youth in the colony but is provided with an appropriate school. Some of these schools have valuable libraries.

'There is a public library at Monrovia which contains between 1200 and 2000 volumes. A printing press is in operation there, issuing a weekly and well conducted gazette, the "Liberia Herald." It is interesting to look over this sheet and notice the various advertisements, notices of auctions, parades, marriages, &c. together with its marine list, and items of news, as if the print were issued from the midst of an old and long established community.'

'I do not see but they have in Liberia already the elements of wealth and greatness. They are beginning to be a

commercial community; and, with an agricultural interior in prospect, and they a civilized and christian people, what is there to prevent their ultimate prosperity?'

'Their prospects are bright, Henry, very bright. Their progress, hitherto, has certainly been rapid and truly wonderful. Dr. Shane, of Cincinnati, went with a company of emigrants to Liberia in 1832, sailing from New-Orleans; and, among other things, writes, "I see not in Liberia as fine and splendid mansions as in the United States; nor as extensive and richly stocked farms as the well tilled lands of Ohio; but I see a fine and very fertile country, inviting its poor and oppressed sons to thrust in their sickles and gather up its fullness. I here see many who left the United States in straightened circumstances, living with all the comforts of life around them; enjoying a respectable and useful station in society, and wondering that their brethren in the United States, who have it in their power, do not flee to this asylum of happiness and liberty, where they can enjoy all the unalienable rights of man. * * I do not think an unprejudiced person can visit here without becoming an ardent and sincere friend of colonization. I can attribute the apathy and indifference on which it is looked by many, as arising from ignorance on the subject alone, and would that every free coloured man in the United States could get a glimpse of his brethren, their situation and prospects. * * * Let but the coloured man come and see for himself, and the tear of gratitude will beam in his eye, as he looks forward to the not far distant day, when Liberia shall take her stand among the nations of the world, and proclaim abroad an empire founded by benevolence, offering a home to the poor, oppressed, and weary. Nothing but a want of knowledge of Liberia, prevents thousands of honest, industrious free blacks

from rushing to this heaven-blessed land, where liberty and religion, with all their blessings, are enjoyed." '

'Are the colonists generally contented and happy in their situation?'

'Captain Kennedy, who visited Liberia in 1831, says, "with impressions unfavourable to the scheme of the Colonization Society, I commenced my inquiries." The colonists "considered that they had started into a *new existence*. * * They felt themselves *proud in their attitude*." He further says, "many of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property; and I have no doubt they are doing better for themselves and for their children, in Liberia, than they could do in any other part of the world."

'Captain Nicholson, of the United States' Navy, gave as favourable a report. Captain Abels says, "My expectations were more than realized. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. I know of no place where the Sabbath seems to be more respected than in Monrovia."

'A distinguished British naval officer, who passed three years on the African coast, published a favourable notice of the colony, in the Amulet for 1832, in which he bears this testimony:—"The complete success of this colony is a proof that the Negroes are, by proper care and attention, as susceptible of the habits of industry, and the improvements of social life, as any other race of human beings; and that the amelioration of the condition of the black people on the coast of Africa, by means of such colonies, is not chimerical. Wherever the influence of the colony extends, the slave-trade has been abandoned by the natives, and the peaceable pursuits of legitimate commerce established in its place. They not only live on terms of harmony and good will to-

gether, but the colonists are looked upon with a certain degree of respect by those of their own colour; and the force of their example is likely to have a strong effect in inducing the people about them to adopt it. A few colonies of this kind, scattered along the coast, would be of infinite value in improving the natives." Governor Mechlin has said, "As to the morals of the colonists, I consider them much better than those of the people of the United States; i. e. you may take an equal number of the inhabitants from any section of the Union, and you will find more drunkenness, more profane swearers and Sabbath-breakers, than in Liberia. You rarely hear an oath, and as to riots and breaches of the peace, I recollect but one instance, and that of a trifling nature, that has come under my notice since I assumed the government of the colony." Captain Sherman has said, "There is a greater proportion of moral and religious characters in Monrovia than in the city of Philadelphia." '

'Have there not been some accounts of a contrary character?'

'There have been some few instances of dissatisfied emigrants, who have made, in some respects, a different report; but it has been confidently believed that they were prompted by feelings growing out of the peculiar circumstances in their individual case. They were certainly not of such a character as to invalidate or discredit the testimony of the many judicious, impartial, and highly respectable persons who have borne opposite testimony.'

'I should think, Sir, from what you have told us of the number of the churches in Liberia, that the *religious* privileges of the colony are great.'

'Much is done to promote the cause of religion in the colony, and this seems always to be an object of much solicitude on the part of the Colonization Society. The churches in Liberia are generally well supplied with respectable and faithful ministers. In all these churches there are Sunday schools established, to which the most promising young people in the colony have attached themselves either as teachers or as scholars. The Sunday schools are also furnished with libraries.

'I have in the pamphlet before me, which was printed in Monrovia, the "minutes of the first Convention of the Liberia Baptist Association," by which it appears that there are in the colony of Liberia six Baptist churches, comprising about 220 members, located in the different settlements. These minutes represent the Baptist churches as in a flourishing condition; and the proceedings of the convention and their circular to the churches, evince talent, judgment, and piety, of a very respectable order. I will give you one extract from these minutes:

"Princes shall come out of Egypt, Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God,—is the prediction of a holy prophet, uttered ages antecedent to the advent of the Messiah. And when we reflect on the midnight darkness, which, from time immemorial, has shrouded this portion of Africa, we hail with rapture, the first dawning of that glorious gospel-day which is signified in this oracle. * * * * He, with whom a thousand years is a day, and a day a thousand years, works His own sovereign will, and effects His purposes of grace and goodness, in a manner above the comprehension of men. For ages, Africa has been 'meted out and trodden down.' Her deep moral degradation seems, by universal consent, to have been justification in regarding her as lawful plunder, and as a land on which a curse rests. But

we rejoice that these days are going by. The darkness of ages is yielding to the bright rising of the 'Sun of righteousness.' Idolatry and superstition are retiring before christianity and civilization, and on the mountain top, once defiled by sacrifices to devils, the banner of the cross is unfurled, while a voice in the wilderness is proclaiming: 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand,' repent and believe the gospel."

'I have here also the "Report of the Liberia Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the minutes of their Annual Conference in Liberia in 1835." This document is full of interest, and displays the same zeal, energy, and ability which you find generally among the colonists. Of the conference, the report says, "The greatest harmony and peace prevailed during our session, and it is confidently hoped that this little band of ambassadors for Christ have gone to their respective appointments with increasing zeal in the cause of their Divine Master, and holy resolutions to spend and be spent in the blessed work of winning souls for God. * * * Our love-feast and sacramental occasions were attended by manifestations of the Holy Spirit of God, in the quickening of his children, the conviction and conversion of souls, and the spread of Divine truth. The altar was thronged on the last evening with weeping, broken-hearted seekers of Christ and his great salvation. Having been very affectionately requested by our brethren of both Baptist churches to occupy their pulpits throughout the meeting, and especially on the Sabbath, we appointed labourers accordingly; so that the word of life was dispensed nine times on Sunday in the town of Monrovia by preachers of the Methodist conference. May he who giveth the increase, water the good seed from on high, that it may bring forth abundantly to his eternal glory." It would seem

by the minutes that the number of ministers of this denomination in the colony, was, at the beginning of 1835, twelve; and the number of communicants upwards of 200. The report also speaks of the appointment of a missionary "for the interior of Africa, to carry the light of the gospel of Jesus Christ into the dark regions of this benighted land." The appointment, it is said, seems to be regarded by the members of the conference with the warmest approbation, and one good result already discovered from it is the awakening a missionary spirit among the preachers. Several are ready to say, "Here are we, send us. We covet the privilege of carrying the gospel to the heathen tribes."

'The Report concludes, "If we are to judge from the appearance of the fields around us, which are already 'white unto harvest,' we should conclude that 'the set time to favour Zion *has* come,' yea, that '*now* is the accepted time, *now* is the day of salvation.' Men and brethren, help! O help to disenthral poor bleeding Africa from the hellish grasp of the enemy of all righteousness! Help to promote the moral and religious prosperity of this infant colony, destined as it is to be rendered the savour of life unto life to this benighted continent!"

'In a number of the Liberia Herald, which is now before me, dated February 28, 1836, I find pleasing evidence of the advancement of the colony in all that is good, and of the rich blessings which God designs to pour through it upon a benighted continent, in the fact that a number of *natives* who had been brought under the influence of the gospel, and had been for some time communicants in one of the Baptist churches, have been dismissed from that particular church to form a new one in a situation more advantageous to their extended usefulness. I will give you the article announcing this event, as I find it in the Monrovia paper:

"On Sunday, the 7th inst., thirty-six native Africans, resident at New Georgia, late members of the First Baptist Church in this place, having been dismissed by letters, were brought into visibility as a church, in the place of their residence. Sermon by Rev. Dr. Skinner, charge and right hand of fellowship by Rev. H. Teague, and concluding prayer by Rev. A. W. Anderson. The exercises of the occasion were truly solemnly pleasing and impressive. They naturally threw the mind back to the period when they who were thus solemnly dedicating themselves to God, to be constituted into a 'golden candlestick' from which the Divine light is to chase the surrounding gloom, were in the darkness of nature, without God, without revelation, and consequently without the hope it inspires. These reflections seemed to produce a reaction of the mind, and threw it on an immoveable foundation, the promise that 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God.' On this circumstance, the mind seemed invited to repose, as an earnest of the full completion of the promise, and earnestly to ejaculate, 'Lord, let thy kingdom come.'"

'I must give you one more extract from the same paper. It is a communication from a correspondent of the Herald, in Monrovia, and relates to the dedication of a Presbyterian church: "Mr. Editor, as every circumstance which has any relation to the spreading of our blessed religion in Africa, must have a tendency to give satisfaction to every lover and follower of the religion of Jesus Christ, you will confer a favour on one of your constant readers by giving publication to this. Having understood that the First Presbyterian Church was to be dedicated to the service of God on the 26th November, I attended, and was happy to find the principal part of the inhabitants of this town present on so interesting an occasion. Every denomination of saints seemed

to rejoice that another temple had been erected and dedicated to the worship of Almighty God. It was enough that the pure religion of Jesus Christ was to be inculcated from that sacred pulpit, and, as that servant of God, the Rev. C. Teage, remarked, that where he then stood preaching the dedication sermon, sixteen years past, the Devil's bush stood. What skeptic could doubt that colonization and missionary enterprise had done much good. The service commenced at 11 o'clock, A. M., by singing a hymn selected for the occasion, and reading the 8th chapter of the 2d book of Kings, by the Pastor, Rev. James Eden; sermon by Rev. C. Teage; concluding prayer by Rev. A. D. Williams, of the M. E. Church. How truly animating it is to see temples arise for the worship of God, where not long since there was nothing to be heard but the savage yell of the native, or the clinking of the poor slaves' chains. On Sunday the 27th December, Mr. H. B. Matthews was ordained a ruling elder of the church, by Rev. Mr. Wilson of Cape Palmas." '

'I do not see, Pa, why the Colonization Society and the interests of the colony should be so virulently opposed as they are by many?'

'It is strange that it should be opposed by so many from whom we should have expected better things; and especially since *something*, it is admitted by all, *must be done*, and since no better scheme has been devised.'

'Should not the mighty scheme of colonization be realized in all its parts and to its utmost extent,' said Caroline, 'blessings will nevertheless be attained, it seems to me, which will abundantly repay every effort and sacrifice made.'

'Great good has already been done, and far more than

proportionate to the efforts made. The germ of an Americano-African empire has been planted; and even if Colonization should for ever cease, that colony will extend and extend, I doubt not, until its influence shall overshadow the continent. The plan will succeed. Heaven's blessing will attend it. Glorious things are in store for Africa. That continent has a rich blessing in the Liberia colony.'

'It appears to me, Pa, that the object is one of the most noble philanthropy; we have read of the philanthropic spirit of a Howard, and have admired: but here is a philanthropy that seeks to disenthral and elevate two millions of outcasts who are now among ourselves, and to establish the liberties and secure the best good of a continent.'

'And that continent, Caroline, is estimated as containing *fifty millions of immortal souls!*'

'Truly a noble cause!'

'A noble cause, indeed; and we may all, if we will, enjoy the honour of engaging in its interests, and of helping forward this blessed enterprise.

'In our next conversation I shall call your attention to some further progress in the great and good work, as exhibited in the more recent establishment of the sub-colony at Bassa Cove.'

CONVERSATION XXV.

"Non enim est ulla res in qua proprius ad Deorum numen virtus accedat humana, quam civitates aut condere novas, aut conservare jam conditas."
Cicero.

'In our last conversation, I promised you some account of another enterprise in connexion with the colony at Liberia, by which the prospects of the Colonization cause have been greatly brightened, and our hearts encouraged. This enterprise is the result of the efforts of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania. Of the origin of this Society and its success, I must give you a brief history.

'The YOUNG MEN'S COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, was organized May, 1834. This Society, acting as auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, was formed with the design of pursuing strictly a system of political economy which shall foster with special care the agricultural interests of the colony by them established, checking the influence of petty and itinerant traffickers which has been found detrimental in the other colonies, excluding from the colony the use of ardent spirits, and withholding the common temptations and means for any aggressions upon the native population of Africa. The great principles upon which the Society professes to act, are thus expressed by

their philanthropic and distinguished Secretary of foreign correspondence, ELLIOTT CRESSON, ESQ., to whose warm-hearted and untiring efforts in this cause, much is to be attributed:—

"1. Entire temperance in every colonist:

2. Total abstinence from trade in ardent spirits and arts of war:

3. An immediate christian influence and operation upon surrounding heathen:

All designed to accomplish the second article of (its) constitution,—'to provide for civilizing and christianizing Africa, through the direct instrumentality of coloured emigrants from the United States.'"

This Society commenced under very favourable auspices, and their first expedition sailed from Norfolk, Va., October 24th of the same year; the very day of the one hundred and fifty-second anniversary of the arrival of Penn, with the first English settlers, on the shores of the Delaware.'

'This,' said Caroline, 'was a very happy coincidence.'

'It was,' Mr. L. continued; 'and there is yet another—the good ship Ninus, in which this expedition embarked, sailed from Philadelphia to receive the emigrants at Norfolk, the 14th of October, which was on William Penn's one hundred and ninetieth birth day. All this was apparently entirely accidental, and was regarded not only as somewhat remarkable, but as a favourable omen.

'The outfit of the Ninus cost about eight thousand dollars, and the number of emigrants was one hundred and twenty-six. Every adult previous to the sailing of the ship, was a subscriber to the temperance pledge of entire abstinence from the use of ardent spirits. They all arrived safe at Liberia on the 9th December following, and immediately

proceeded to Bassa Cove, their contemplated territory, the purchase of which from the natives, had been consummated a few days previous to their arrival. Such was the zeal and energy of these colonists, that by the first day of January next succeeding, a plot of ground had been cleared and a house erected for the agency family, and within six months the whole colony were comfortably located, eighteen houses having been erected by them for their own accommodation; "the lots around them presenting a bright prospect of luxuriant crops of various kinds," and ten additional houses to receive the emigrants expected by a second expedition. Besides these, the agent had caused to be "prepared a large and substantial Government-house, 20 feet by 50, and two stories high, with a well-stocked garden of two acres, substantially enclosed, and had cleared upwards of forty acres of land; he had also a smith-shop, with a pit of coal, nearly ready for operation; a kiln of lime burned, and six head of cattle procured and partially broken to the yoke." And "what rendered this picture more peculiarly pleasing, is the fact that this was achieved on the very spot where a slave factory had long stood, and from whence no less than 500 victims had been shipped *during the one month preceding (the) purchase.*" An extensive and kindly intercourse was opened with the surrounding tribes; and promises obtained even from the more distant, of the extirpation of the traffic in human flesh and blood. The location "was admirably adapted, just beyond the territorial limits of the American Colonization Society, and commanding, at the same time, the mouth of the St. John's River, and the only harbour occurring for many miles around, to repress that nefarious traffic along a considerable portion of coast."

'This colony, so favourably commenced, was, however, destined to meet with a sudden and very grievous discour-

agement and suspension. A slaver arriving in the vicinity, operated upon the cupidity of one of the chieftains in the neighbourhood, and by the guilty use of ardent spirits, urged him to an attack upon the unsuspecting colony. Three men, four women, and thirteen children, were massacred in one night, and the remainder were obliged to take refuge at Monrovia.'

'Might not this dreadful catastrophe have been avoided, if the colony had been prepared with fire-arms and other instruments of defence?'

'It probably might. It is now confidently believed by those who have knowledge of the character of the surrounding tribes, that the very fact of the colonists being possessed of the means of defence, will operate, in accordance with the spirit and language of the constitution of the Society, as "a dissuasion from warfare," and induce them to reject any future overtures of the slavers. It is not to be expected that the slavers will regard any attempt to plant colonies on the coast, with other feeling than hostility; for the slave-trade cannot long survive amid the salutary influences of civilized and christian colonies on the surrounding pagan darkness. The chief, however, who was engaged in the attack upon the colony, has expressed contrition for his conduct, and given solemn assurances of a desire for peace; and there is reason to believe that the colony, which is now amply furnished with the means of defence, but instructed to carry out the original design of the enterprise by prosecuting the humane and benevolent purposes originally contemplated, "in a spirit of affectionate regard for the best interest of the natives," using "every effort for the preservation of the most friendly relations with them," will not be again molested; or, if they should be, it is believed that they

have nothing to fear. The slavers must retire before the light of civilization, and the influence of agriculture and commerce.

'Several expeditions for this colony have been despatched since that which we have noticed, by the joint benevolence of the New-York Colonization Society, and the Pennsylvania Society; the energies of both institutions, by an arrangement to that effect, being now devoted to the colony at Bassa Cove. Among the emigrants are a goodly number of superior education and intelligence, as well as some who are possessed of considerable property. Clergymen are associated with the colony as missionaries from the Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches, and great efforts are made to extend among the natives the united blessings of literary and religious instruction.

'The principle of entire abstinence from ardent spirits, I have mentioned was adopted by the Society at its formation. All the reinforcements to the colony have "sailed without a drop of ardent spirits," and the "colonists pledged to total abstinence have not in any instance been known to violate" the pledge. It may be proper also to remark that the influence of this temperance movement has been happy upon the old colony. Hundreds have signed the pledge, and so temperate is the colony that Captain Abels, on a recent visit, ascertained that "no spirit was sold at any house of entertainment at Monrovia."

'The colony at Bassa Cove appears, at the present time, to be prospering beyond all parallel.'

'I notice,' said Henry, 'that a collegiate institution in Africa, is now proposed, and about to be established by the Young Men's Colonization Society of New-York.'

'Yes,' said Mr. L., 'the establishment of such an insti-

tution in Liberia has long been a favourite idea with many prominent friends of the African race. Believing that knowledge is power; and that self-preservation even, whether of the individual or a people, is not secure by brute force alone; they have looked forward to the location of such an institution in Western Africa, as an object of great interest. As intelligence creates resources, opens channels of wealth, extends commerce, improves the arts, establishes manufactures, gives permanence and honour to a community, and when founded in moral principle, raises the standard of human character, securing domestic virtue and national prosperity; so it also throws a shield of protection around liberty, life, and property. The coloured race cannot be effectually disenthralled from their present degradation, except as they enjoy the blessings of a good education. Great pains have been taken for the establishment of primary or common schools in the colonies, and for extending the benefits of elementary instruction to all classes of the children. A college is now needed to give efficiency to these institutions, and to follow up to its full blessing the good work so nobly begun.

'A philanthropic and judicious writer in the New-York Observer has these very sensible remarks in respect to the location of such an institution in Liberia:—"Great changes are in progress. It requires no prophetic vision to perceive that the destinies of the African race are opening and brightening. The elevation of many individuals is not to be prevented by slander or unkind treatment. There are among them some of nature's noblemen in intellectual power, no less than in physical structure. Their redemption from ignorance and abjectness at home, and the melioration of their state in foreign exile, hasten on with rapid stride. The genius of the age, and the intimations of the divine will, point to

such results. Selfish interests and personal prejudices die with men, while time rolls on its tide without our aid or consent. Some of these changes will be accelerated, not retarded, by the rod of oppression. New-England was filled with emigrants by ecclesiastical tyranny. Men of cultivated intellect and various talent will be wanted among the people of colour, as soon as they can be educated. They are to occupy responsible stations, and to do a momentous work. They are to prosecute researches into the geography and commercial resources of Africa, to establish a republic on its western coast, and to publish the gospel of the Saviour to its superstitious tribes. It is contrary to all analogy to suppose otherwise. White men may make establishments, commercial and religious, on the capes and islands of that continent, but it is for men of colour to pass up its rivers, to cultivate its vallies, and introduce the arts and institutions of a christian land through its wide extent of surface. It is for men of colour to found schools and churches, pursue its agriculture and commerce, and conduct the whole machinery, on which depends the wealth, prosperity, and elevated character of this infant republic.

"There is a strong sympathy with the African race. It can hardly be restrained by sober judgment and a regard to the principles of common justice. It seeks to find out channels in which its exuberant compassion may flow forth. That race, in the mystery of Providence, has been subjected to much suffering. To say that many have endured a long bondage, a period of exile from the land of their fathers, like the slavery of Jacob's family in Egypt, or the captivity of Judah in Assyria, is only a declaration of historical facts. And this injury has been inflicted by the most intelligent and christian nations on the globe. That a rich return is to be made to their descendants in the arts of civilized life, and in the

inestimable blessings of the christian religion, cannot well admit a doubt. * * * If we stop with the rudiments of knowledge, we only begin the work. The paths of science are not trod, the powers of the intellect are not developed, the dignity of our nature is not fully displayed. No historian records a nation's annals, and no poet writes its songs; no astronomer marks the phenomena of the heavens, and no geologist digs into the treasures of the earth. Without a college, there are no profound scholars, no elegant writers, no large libraries, no inquiries into the antiquities of past ages, or into the aspects of future times. Soon will the common school lower its standard, if there is no higher institution. Soon will the general intelligence of a people decline, if there are no learned men, with whom they are conversant and to whom they may look as examples. Soon will the authority of the Bible be veiled in doubts, if there are none who are competent to read its ancient languages, demonstrate its divine origin, and answer the cavils of infidels. There is no security against a retrograde movement in any human society but in a constant effort to advance.

"Who are to navigate their ships? Who are to teach their children? Who are to be the pastors of their churches? Who are to be their legislators, governors, judges? Who are to lay the sure foundations of an intelligent, virtuous, and happy republic? Who are to extend a civilizing influence over hundreds of petty tribes along a coast of three thousand miles and into regions of the interior, as yet untraversed by Europeans? It sickens the heart to hear it suggested that the ignorant and vicious are to be entrusted with these stupendous interests, which involve the dearest hopes of many generations, and on which depends the successful prosecution of one of the noblest enterprises which has ever blest humanity in this or any other age. It sickens

the heart to think that its government may degenerate into anarchy, and its religion into fanaticism,—that its energies may be exhausted in selfish and mercenary speculations, until the slave-trade shall be renewed where it is now extinct, and the arts of war supplant the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and the manufactures. It sickens the heart to think that many lives may have been sacrificed and much treasure expended to little purpose, that tears have been shed and prayers offered in vain. The failure of Liberia, as the germ of a free and prosperous republic, is not to be contemplated as possible. But there are various means to be employed to render the enterprise more sure. Among others, a liberal system of education is one, which requires a college as an indispensable appendage."

'Amongst the reasons which this writer assigns for the location of such an institution in Liberia, are these:—"It will be in the land of the African race. That land is a continent wide in territory, rich in resources, and open to the entrance of her own children. If three or four millions of that race are dispersed in foreign lands, twenty or thirty millions are to be found on their native soil. Some thousands of freemen, who are advancing to wealth and high distinction, have made it their home. The native population is easily accessible. It places the pupils beyond the reach of that oppressive power which they feel in this country, and they are left to the influence of all the high and inspiring motives of ambition, honour, and usefulness. In these States, in the vicinity of their enslaved brethren, they are dispirited. They do not find themselves stimulated by the prospect of emolument, or office, or equal rank. Why should they study? Why aspire to learn? What is the reward of diligence? Besides they do not often enjoy the facilities of instruction and books, which fall to the lot of other children, especially

in early years. It is not chiefly any want of industry or native talent, which leaves them behind others of their age. This disparity can be satisfactorily traced to causes which cannot be removed till they are taken out of this state of society and allowed to inhale a free atmosphere. See the African youth on his native soil, erect, gay, and buoyant; here he is depressed and downcast. There are some schools for children of colour in this country, and many individuals of both sexes have made commendable improvement. They have evinced sufficient capacity. But as a diffident child cannot look up in the presence of strangers, so they are oppressed with an incumbent load which no impulse of genius can enable them to shake off. A fair experiment in their education cannot be made in this country. The constitution of society forbids it. In their own land no distinction of colour will remind them of their exile, no frown of a master will check the rising emotion of joy, no exclusion from public office, and no inferiority of rank will chill the energy of the soul. Fame, and wealth, and official honour will invite them to aspire to excellence, and reward their patient industry. Why should they not become learned in abstract and useful science? Why should they not cultivate the fine arts, painting and sculpture, music and poetry? Some of the colonists grow rich with great rapidity; why should they not accumulate funds of knowledge? Give them the opportunity and the inspiring motive, and there is no uncertainty respecting the result. If a literary establishment should be made in the colony of Liberia, there is no apparent reason why it should not be perpetuated through the successive periods of its future history with enlarged resources and increasing usefulness. Pupils need not be wanting. The intelligent sons of native chiefs, the sons of colonists, young men of enterprise and talent in the West India Islands and

the United States, may here find an asylum where they may prosecute their education without prejudice. This will stimulate the ambition of the native tribes, reward the fidelity of colonists who have borne the burden of the work, and elicit the talent of the race wherever it may be found. Especially may such a seminary prove to be a "school of the prophets," where the Saviour of the world may prepare his servants to publish his gospel of mercy to the millions on that continent. Besides, that continent is to be their future theatre of action. And it is an ample field. It is not a little island environed by the sea. It is not a section of country where they will be exposed to encroachments from men of a different colour and superior power. It is not in subjection to a despotic government with which they can feel no sympathy, and in the administration of which they can aspire to no share. Nor is its language, like that of Hayti, intelligible to a handful only of all the race. Nor is its religion mystical and established by law, denying to individuals entire liberty of conscience in the worship of God. Whatever islands or sections of country may in the course of time fall into the possession of the people of colour, the continent of Africa itself is the cradle and the home of the race. The results of their enterprise and talent are to be exhibited there. In despite of all that philanthropy can accomplish, neither the United States nor the British Islands will furnish an inviting field to men of colour for half a century to come. As they advance to wealth and knowledge, they will resort to the father-land, whether for culture or commerce. They will seek it as an asylum, a home. There will be no need of external compulsion or constraint. Nor will they wait for pecuniary aid. It will not be easy to retain them to hew wood and draw water in other lands. They will there be the proprietors of the soil which they cultivate, establish a

government which they themselves administer, and introduce the religion of their enlightened choice. And shall the want of a few thousand dollars prevent the immediate commencement of a work so imperiously demanded by the wants of a whole race? Will not the statesman, the philanthropist, the rich merchant, give to this enterprise a candid investigation and a liberal patronage? And especially may it not be commended with confidence to Him who controls the destinies of nations, and who is pleased with the good conduct and highest happiness of men?" '

'Such an institution,' said Caroline, 'would reflect great honour upon its founders, and I am sure would greatly encourage the hope of Africa's final triumphs. I have recently seen very encouraging accounts from this colony.'

'Yes; Mr. Buchanan, the governor of the colony, writes to the corresponding secretary, Mr. Cresson, "You may congratulate yourself on your steadfast affection for Bassa Cove, for indeed it is a paradise. The climate is absolutely good—the soil prolific and various in its productions—the rivers abound in excellent fish and very superior oysters, and the water is pure and wholesome. Our position is somewhat remarkable, having a river in our rear, the ocean in front, and the magnificent St. John's sweeping past on our right. The luxuriant and various foliage which overhangs the banks of the river, and recedes back into the interminable forests, gives a perpetual freshness to the scene which ever animates and gladdens the beholder. In America it is difficult to conceive of African scenery without picturing to our imagination a plentiful supply of burning sand, with here and there a fiery serpent; but what a pleasing reversion the feelings undergo when for the first time we witness the

reality; then the arid scene, with its odious accompaniments, is exchanged for the broad river of blue waters, the stately forest, and the ever verdant landscape, and all nature charms with her ever-varying, yet ever-beautiful and living riches.

"We have very little sickness among us. When our land is cleared up and cultivated, I have no doubt that people may come here from any part of the Union and suffer little or nothing in the process of acclimating.

"The site chosen by Dr. Skinner, and upon which the town is now laid out, is one of the most beautiful and picturesque that could be found in any country. A commanding and remarkable eminence at the north end of the town I cut off and appropriated for the agency house and offices. This eminence is washed on three sides by the ocean and two rivers, and commands an unlimited prospect seaward, overlooking completely all parts of Bassa Cove, Edina, and and an extensive tract of the St. John's and Benson rivers, and may, with a very little labour, be rendered impregnable against any native force. I am at present mounting a long nine-pounder on a pivot, on one corner of the hill, which will range our principal street, the harbour and river.

"Our settlement has grown very rapidly, and quite astonishes every visitor by its appearance of age, and the industry of its inhabitants. No description that I could give would convey an adequate idea of the change in their deportment, and it would savour too much, perhaps, of self-praise, to dwell on this subject; suffice it to say, that general industry, contentment, and good order prevail. Every man is now in his own house, with a lot cleared, well fenced, and planted. Many have small rice plantations, besides their village lots, and by the blessing of Providence, they will be nearly all independent of foreign produce another year.

"The people are unanimous in their expressions of grati-

tude to the societies for their continued patronage, and appear to be well satisfied with the laws and their administration. All have sworn to support the constitution, after having it read at three different times, and carefully explained.

"With proper care at home, and judicious management here, the experiment *must* succeed. YOUR LOCATION IS GOOD—PERHAPS THE VERY BEST ON THE WHOLE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA. A magnificent interior country can be added to your territory, as occasion may require, while the whole line of sea coast down to Cape Palmas, can ultimately be occupied by your villages and cities. A climate of great comparative salubrity, and a soil rich in the various productions of the tropics, are among the advantages you calculate upon with ever-increasing certainty. Industrious men alone are wanting to render your labours triumphant in converting this African wilderness into a paradise of loveliness; and creating here a home of peace and serenity, where thousands may come and rest from all their wrongs."

'It is a very pleasing circumstance that young men are "coming to the rescue," and associating together, as in our two great cities, to help carry forward this great and blessed enterprise. Until the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania was formed, the pecuniary concerns of the Parent Society had begun to assume a very discouraging aspect. But the formation of this Society revived the hopes of the friends of Africa; and subsequent success has banished many doubts in regard to the final and complete success of the enterprise.

'We have now reason to hope that the time is very near when many colonies shall be planted on the shores of Africa. Maryland has already moved in this good work. Mississippi has resolved that she also will open a door for herself. Virginia, it is confidently expected, will not be backward in

the work. And, what is there to hinder all the States from coming up to this work, and planting a chain of ten, or twenty or more States in Africa, which shall form a republic in close affinity with our own, extending far and wide the blessings of peace, liberty, light, and joy?

"Light of the world, arise! arise!
On Africa thy glory shed;
Fetter'd, in darkness deep she lies,
With weeping eye, and drooping head.

Light of the world, arise! arise!
Millions in tears await the day;
Shine cloudless forth, O cheer our eyes,
And banish sin and grief away."

CONVERSATION XXVI.

"Lo! once in triumph on his boundless plain,
The quiver'd chief of Congo lov'd to reign;
With fires proportion'd to his native sky,
Strength in his arm, and lightning in his eye!
Scour'd with wild feet his sun-illumin'd zone,
The spear, the lion, and the woods his own!
Or led the combat, bold without a plan,
An artless savage, but a fearless man!
The plunderer came:—Alas, no glory smiles
For Congo's chief on yonder Indian isles,
For ever fallen! no son of nature now,
With freedom charter'd on his brow:
Faint, bleeding, bound, he weeps the night away,
And, when the sea-wind wafts the dewless day,
Starts, with a bursting heart, for ever more
To curse the sun that lights the guilty shore."—*Campbell.*

'THERE is one subject,' said Mr. L., 'that I meant to have noticed before, and that is the importance of some better understanding between our own government and others, in respect to *the right of search.* By treaties between some of the powers, the mutual right of search is conceded to the government vessels of each nation, of such merchant vessels of the other as may be reasonably suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade, or which have been fitted out with that intent, or that, during the voyage in which they are met with by said cruisers, *have been* employed in the

slave-trade; and the said cruisers are authorized to detain them, and send or conduct them to one of the places appointed by the convention of treaty for trial; this mutual right of search not to be exercised in any part of the Mediterranean sea, nor in the seas of Europe which lie north of latitude 37, and east of longitude 20 W. from Greenwich. To prevent difficulties and injuries which might otherwise arise, it has been provided, that when vessels of either nation shall be arbitrarily and illegally detained by the cruisers of the other, the government whose cruisers have caused the detention, shall indemnify the owners, &c. of the vessels for all damage resulting therefrom, which is to be determined agreeably to provisions made for that purpose. Such a treaty between the United States and other friendly powers, would greatly facilitate the absolute abolition of the slave-trade. I say *absolute* abolition of it, for it is a painful and notorious fact, that notwithstanding all the precautions that are now used, vessels are fitted out from some of our own ports by unprincipled men, whose vile purpose is obvious, but who escape with impunity, because the proper officers cannot arrest vessels without proof of their having violated the law, by the commission of overt acts. A law giving to our local authorities and naval officers, powers over American vessels, touching this matter, similar to those which Great Britain exercises over her commerce; and especially, if practicable, an understanding with foreign powers which shall concede a limited and mutual power similar to that to which I have alalready adverted; and the presence of a few American cruisers on the African coast, to co-operate with those of other nations authorized to destroy the slave-factories and barracoons wherever they may be found on the coast, would greatly hasten the final and total extinction of the trade.'

'But I am surprised, Pa,' said Caroline, 'to hear that

there are any yet remaining in our own country who would clandestinely engage in the African slave-trade, and that it is possible for vessels to sail from our shores to be so employed.'

'It is lamentably true, as it is surprising. By recent information from Africa, it appears that American built vessels are regularly engaged in this accursed trade. The way of procuring them is said to be as follows:—"Mercantile houses in the Havana, and other ports in Cuba and Porto Rico, send orders for fast sailing vessels to their correspondents here, of course saying nothing about their being designed for *slavers*. When launched, they are frequently equipped at Baltimore and New-York. Even the *shackles* for securing the slaves, and the *gratings* to cover the hatches, not unfrequently go from this country; though a part of the latter are sometimes prepared on board. The shackles are put up in *barrels*, and shipped as *merchandise*. The crews are principally Spanish and Portuguese, French and Dutch Creoles, and a sort of *Lingua Franca-men*, of no nation, or rather of all nations, belonging nowhere, or everywhere, and speaking all the *Atlantic* languages. Some of them picked up in New-York or Baltimore for the voyage, and others after she arrives in the Havana. These are all desperadoes. Some of the crew, I am sorry to say, are said to be, in some instances, Americans, who sometimes do not know the nature of the voyage until they arrive on the coast of Africa. The slaver sails from our port as an American vessel under the American flag, with American papers, and appears like a regular trader. She goes to the Havana, is denationalized, receives a new name, and takes Spanish colours and Spanish papers. Sometimes, but rarely, this is done at the Cape de Verd Islands. These vessels frequently

put into Sierra Leone, and occasionally into Monrovia; and, as all appears fair and smooth, and strictly *en regle*, it is impossible to prove that they are slavers." '

'Where, Sir, are the slaves which they obtain carried?'

'Some have been carried to Brazil; some to the Spanish Islands, from whence they have been smuggled in considerable numbers into Guadaloupe and Martinique, and it is even said that some have found their way into Florida, and various places on the Gulf. In this morning's paper I notice an article extracted from a late Lisbon paper, which is as follows:—"A slave-trader has lately arrived in the Tagus, consigned to Mr. S., a German. She returns after having sold her slaves at Rio Janeiro and the Havana, with a nett profit of 95,000 crowns, or 10,000*l.* after deducting every outlay, and she will soon start again on another expedition of this kind. There are three French residents here connected with Mr. S. in the nefarious and infamous expedition, and unless our government adopt some other course, the traffic from hence will increase." '

'Are those places from whence slaves are now obtained remote from the colonies of Liberia and Sierra Leone?'

'Yes; the same gentlemen who, on their return from Africa, recently communicated the facts to which I have now referred, say that there are no slave-factories, from Cape Palmas eastward, for several degrees of longitude. But to show you the extent of the trade on different parts of the coast, probably at this moment, I will mention the establishments which through the colony at Liberia have been ascertained to exist beyond the reach of any colony's

present influence. This information you will find communicated in the Colonization Herald, for December 19, 1835. I give it as it was communicated:—"At *Bissao*, a Portuguese settlement near Gambia, it is carried on extensively, but not with the open countenance of the local government. The *River Pongas*, in 9 deg. 50 min. N., and 13 deg. 40 min. W., and 120 miles north of Sierra Leone, is an extensive slave-market. The river is navigable for large vessels 60 or 80 miles, and has several slave-factories on its banks. About 2000 slaves are carried away annually. Three of the gentlemen who communicated these facts, saw seven slavers in the river at a time. At the mouth of the *Shelear river*, a little south of Sherbro Island, in 7 deg. 15 min. N., and 12 deg. W., a considerable number are sold annually. The mouth of the *Gallinas* in 7 deg. 5. min. N., and 11 deg. 40 min. W., is the great slave-mart north of Cape Palmas. At this place are two very large factories, with their appropriate suite of barracoons, or *out-buildings to house the slaves*, as they are sent in by the neighbouring chiefs. These factories are about 120 feet in length, are handsomely fitted up, and elegantly furnished. They are occupied by two Spaniards, whose names we know, one of whom is very rich. They are said to have their regular agents in (two cities in these States!) No less than *eight thousand* slaves are annually shipped from this one place. Slavers are almost always lying there. They saw four slavers at the Gallinas in October last. One of them was to sail on the 14th or 15th, with 450 slaves on board. Two of our informants saw them dancing in two circles on the beach. At *Sugry River* and *Cape Mount*, about 80 miles north of Monrovia, a considerable number are sold every year. They saw two slavers lying there in October. *Cape Mesurado* was formerly an extensive slave-

market before the settlement of Monrovia. It is now wholly broken up. The same is true, in a degree, of the mouth of *Junk River*. One of the gentlemen has seen the remains of the old slave-factory, which stood near the mouth of *St. John's River*, before Edina and Bassa Cove were planted. In 1834, before the purchase of Bassa Cove, 500 were shipped from that place, in a single month. Since then, the slavers have left the river. *Sestras River*, in 5 deg. 30 min. N. is, as they suppose, the only remaining regular slave-market between Cape Palmas and Monrovia. and, in the numbers which it furnishes annually, is probably inferior only to the Gallinas. In addition to this, the slavers lie at anchor for a few days, in numerous other places along the coast, where no factories have been erected, to pick up the slaves in the immediate neighbourhood, who have been just taken in war. The captains of the slavers are generally men of polished manners, and gentlemanly appearance. One of them was, some time ago, particularly kind to the captain of the vessel in which one of our informants sailed; sending him a case of claret, and utterly refusing all compensation. The slavers are all sharp built vessels, intended expressly for fast sailers. They mount commonly one gun, sometimes as many as eighteen. The one gun is a long 32 pounder; and, where there are more, some are always of this description. * * * At least 100 slavers are to be found annually between the river Pongas and the Bight of Benin, including both.

"The following places in the Bight of Benin are extensive slave-markets, with regular factories :—*Badagry Point*, in 6 deg. 3 min. N. and 2 deg. 50 min. E.; *Lagos River*, in 6 deg. 30 min. N. and 3 deg. 20 min. E.; *Benin River*, in 5 deg. 50 min. N. and 5 deg. 10 min. E.; the *River Nun*, in 4 deg. 20 min. N. and 6 deg. 10 min. E., and more especially on *Brass River*, one of its bayous.

Our national armed vessels should visit the coast.

" The following are similar establishments on the Bight of Biafra:—*Old Calebar River*, in 4 deg. 40 min. N. and 8 deg. 30 min. E.; the *Camaroons*, in 4 deg. N. and 9 deg. 30 min. E.; the *River Gaboon*, in 30 min. N. and 9 deg. 20 min. E.; and *Cape Lopez*, in 1 deg. 40 min. S. The slavers in the Bight of Biafra are at present exceedingly numerous, and are spoken of as amounting to *hundreds*." '

'I have seen it *objected*,' said Henry, 'to the colony of Liberia, that it has not suppressed the slave-trade: but both that and the colony at Sierra Leone, have certainly done *something*, if they have not yet accomplished *every* thing.'

'It is unreasonable in the extreme,' said Mr. L., 'for any thus to object. To break up the slave-trade on that whole extended coast will require time, and the planting of other colonies, and the aid of christian governments. It is certainly a matter of great gratulation that *so much has been done*.'

'Are not our national vessels occasionally cruising upon the African coast? I am sure, I think I have seen frequent accounts of them there,' said Henry.

'They have occasionally visited the colonies: not often —very seldom—and scarcely at all of late. We have not rendered that aid and protection which we ought to have done. Especially does that coast demand our regard in consideration of the fact that the regular legal trade with Africa is carried on chiefly by American vessels. These are left almost entirely to be protected by the English flag. It is to be hoped that our Government will soon take this subject

in hand, and that there will be some efficient action by Congress in unison with other powers, for the suppression of the trade. Then, not only will the native African

> "drink at noon
> The palm's rich nectar, and lie down at eve
> In the green pastures of remembered days,
> And walk, to wander and to weep no more,
> On Congo's mountain-coast, and Gambia's golden shore;"

but the prosperity of the colonies planted there will be greatly promoted, and rendered far more efficient than they can otherwise be. Besides, the reproach will be taken away from us which I had the mortification of reading this morning from a paragraph in one of the papers professedly devoted to the cause of the coloured race, in these words:—"True, America has proscribed the foreign trade, on *parchment;* and that is all. For to this hour, she stands aloof, and will not come into such arrangements with foreign powers, as are indispensable to an effectual execution of the law. A British cruiser gives chase to a slaver—up go American colours! America denies the right of search in the case, and off goes the slaver untouched and unharmed.—Thus does America nullify her own law, and, so far as she can, the laws of all other civilized powers, and unfurl her flag for the escape and protection, rather than the arrest and punishment of the slaver!"'

CONVERSATION XXVII.

"As in ancient Rome, it was regarded as the mark of a good citizen, never to despair of the fortunes of the republic; so the good citizen of the world, whatever may be the political aspect of his own times, will never despair of the fortunes of the human race; but will act upon the conviction, that prejudice, slavery, and corruption, must gradually give way to truth, liberty, and virtue."—*Dugald Stewart.*

'I HOPE, Pa,' said Caroline, 'that the scheme of the Colonization Society is, beyond any doubt, *practicable?*'

'Some have pronounced it otherwise,' said Mr. L., 'and so almost every great enterprise has had to encounter similar objections. The first suggestions touching the feasibility of employing the agency of steam—the first proposition for supplying by artificial means the absence of natural facilities for inland navigation—and the object of our revolutionary struggle, were treated by many as impracticable. So were the plans of him

"who first unfurl'd
An Eastern banner o'er the Western world."

But the experiment in this case is made; the obstacles have been overcome;—and there remains, in my mind, not the slightest doubt of its entire practicability.

'The views of those who at first asserted the impracticability of the enterprise, and augured its defeat, were certainly entitled to consideration; nor am I even now disposed to join with such as say that those who, at this late day, assert the impracticability of the colonization enterprise, "deserve a straight jacket"—but it does appear to me that since a prosperous colony has been established, and the most formidable difficulties have been encountered and overcome, ultimate success, on a scale of vast magnificence, may be confidently expected.

'It has been well remarked, by a sound philosopher, that "the greatest of all obstacles to the improvement of the world, is the prevailing belief of its improbability, which damps the exertions of so many individuals; and that, in proportion as the contrary opinion becomes general, it realizes the event which it leads us to anticipate." Mr. Stewart further remarks that "if any thing can have a tendency to call forth in the public service the exertions of individuals, it must be an idea of the magnitude of that work in which they are conspiring, and a belief of the permanence of those benefits which they confer on mankind, by every attempt to inform and enlighten them." This enterprise has suffered much from unnecessary discouragement and opposition; but it is a noble work, and in respect to the benefit which it promises, may well rank among the first of the benevolent and patriotic efforts of man.'

'It certainly appears no more than just,' C. remarked, 'that we seek in this way to do Africa good; we have long enough done her wrong.'

'True, my daughter; and I cannot better express my sentiment on this part of our duty, than to use the language of the eloquent and excellent Frelinghuysen:—"We have

committed a mighty trespass. Africa has a heavy claim against us. It is a long and bloody catalogue of outrage and oppression. The report of our national crime has gone up to heaven. It rose upon the groans and tears of her kidnapped children—the infernal horrors of the slave-ship have, in ten thousand instances, wrung from distracted bosoms the cry for vengeance; and there is a just God to hear and regard it. On the front of this blessed scheme of humanity is inscribed, in better than golden characters, 'RECOMPENSE TO THE INJURED.'"

'There is another consideration of interest to every one who loves his country and the cause of God. We shall, by colonization, establish the liberties of Africa, under our own, the very best form of government, and cheer that whole land with the pure light of christianity.'

'Pa, I cannot think of an object which seems to afford a fairer field for the exercise of the finest feelings of the true patriot and christian.'

'What is *patriotism?*' said Henry: 'I have thought it would be difficult to define it, according to the generally understood meaning of the term at the present time. Is it not a feeling that influences to the practice of benevolent acts of self-denial and noble deeds for one's country's good?'

'That, Henry, is the very best meaning of the term when *properly used.* True patriotism is not a mere selfish love of country, but an expansive feeling that regards the evils that threaten or afflict the community at large, and every portion of that community, and labours to avert or remove them. Show me thy patriotism without thy works, every true patriot may say, and I will show thee my patriotism

by my works. Empty is the boast of a patriotism that nerves the grasp of sordid lust when our country calls.

> "Can he be strenuous in his country's cause,
> Who slights the charities, for whose dear sake
> That country, if at all, must be belov'd?"

There is much such patriotism in our day; and also too much of that which will sacrifice every benevolent, and christian, and patriotic cause on the altar of sectarian illiberality, and the littleness of party interests. Ours should be a patriotism that is worthy of the descendants of revolutionary heroes.

'Slavery is a national sin, and its expiation must be national. There is also danger in delay, for God is a God of justice. We may shut our eyes to the fact, and the mercenary hand of avarice may clench the fist which ought to be the open hand of benevolence and patriotism, but the evil will one day obtrude itself upon our notice. We were now the happiest people upon earth, but for this leprosy that is upon us. These 2,000,000 of bondmen who tread this soil of freedom, and those 500,000 of their brethren who are nominally free, but are connected with them in all their sympathies and in all their interests, with their constantly and rapidly increasing numbers, greatly eclipse our prospects and are portentous of calamity! It surely needs not a prophet's ken to foretell what will be the result of a continuance of the present state of things. A slight knowledge of human nature, aided by the history of the past, is sufficient for the purpose. Our black population was once a molehill, comparatively; it is now a mountain—and what is worse, that mountain is, as we have seen, volcanic! Short as yet have been its irruptions and few; but they have laid waste valuable lives, and have caused many a family to

mourn, sending also a thrill to the very extremities of our land. These momentary emissions, we have reason to fear, are but the prelude, if something more efficient be not done for our relief and that speedily, of a general and awful explosion. Southampton and St. Domingo furnish some idea of what may be, and of what will be, unless this Republic, so backward in its duty to itself and to Africa, awake to vigorous effort. The same causes will produce like effects so long as the laws of nature remain unchanged, and the nature of man the same.

'Some, it is true, make a mock at the evils of slavery, and always puff at the idea of danger; but for myself, although not made of so yielding materials as to be easily alarmed by merely imaginary fears, I confess it appears far more than possible, that should we be indifferent to the subject, and angry discussions continue, the great and glorious Author of all our happiness and prosperity may be provoked by our national sins, to blast our national blessings, and lay prematurely in the grave all our prospects.

'Empires rise and fall at God's command. We look back through the long vista of ages, and many nations that were once, are now no more. Others are mere fragments and shadows of what was once their pride.

'Nations, since they will not exist as such in another world, receive the retributions of divine justice here. In what has been in the history of nations, we may read our own doom. It is written—and if we repent not of the evil, confessing and forsaking our sins, whatever our national sins may be, we must abide the consequence. There is, in what we now see, cause to fear. Those local interests, and that local jealousy and personal ambition and unfeeling cupidity which are already supplanting the former sterling patriotism of our country, creating discord, justify-

ing opposition to authority, trampling constitution and law under foot, glorying in party devotion, lightly esteeming the national compact, and even threatening the dissolution of our Union, may be the very prelude of a visitation of wrath from the power of infinite Justice. A foreign influence encouraged by ourselves, cherished by blind party-zeal, is also every day acquiring strength, and may one day throw its whole weight into whatever scale may tell most to the ruin of our hopes. Our own native citizens of the North are divided in sentiment—not in respect to the evils of slavery itself—not in respect to the necessity of doing something to avert from us and from our country the disgrace and the danger—but in respect to the *manner* of doing it ; and angry debate, divisions among friends, and rioting and bloodshed is the consequence !'

'The violence of party spirit, and the atrocities that have been committed of late years by mobs, it appears to me, Pa,' said Caroline, 'are evidence of a great decline in correct moral sentiment, and forbode still greater insecurity and danger.'

'This is, indeed, a most alarming feature in the present political aspect of our country,' said Mr. L. 'Against mob law in any country, but especially one like ours, there is no security, except in the sound principles and correct moral feeling of the mass of the people. The spoke of the wheel which is upward this moment, may be down the next, and they who are to-day applauded, may to-morrow be the football of an infatuated and infuriate populace. Nature's great poet has well described the influence and caprice of a mob,

"You are no surer, no,
Than is the coal of fire upon the ice,
Or hailstone in the sun. Your virtue is,

To make him worthy, whose offence subdues him,
And curse that justice did it.
* * * * * He that depends
Upon your favours, swims with fins of lead
And hews down oaks with rushes. Hang ye! Trust ye?
With every minute you do change a mind;
And call him noble, that was now your hate,
Him vile, that was your garland."

A resort to mob violence is ever to be deprecated, and should always be discouraged by every good citizen, let the offence which is made a plea for the measure be what it may.'*

'The increase of slaves in our country is very rapid, is it not, Pa,' said Henry.

*The author is happy here to quote the following correct and very sensible remarks of the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., of Virginia:—"It should always be kept in mind, that in a free country, the worst thing that can happen, is the destruction of the authority of law. It may seem to be an innocent, or even a laudable thing, to punish a dangerous emissary; but let it be remembered, that there is no medium between the power of the law and the arbitrary power of man; and the arbitrary power of men, in whatever form, is despotism. When the mob rules, we have an hundred tyrants instead of one; but the more numerous our tyrants, the worse our situation. Should it become common for unauthorized individuals to take the punishment of real or supposed crimes into their own hands, any thing might be made a crime, every thing would be unsafe, and the whole population must be divided into clans or parties for the purpose of defence or retaliation; every thing must be thrown into jeopardy and confusion, and we should lose all the attributes of a civilized and christian people.

"These are considerations," the learned Professor adds, "which ought to have prevented much" that has been done of late in the Southern States. "Some of our citizens," he says, "seemed to lose sight of these principles in the moment of excitement, but since the alarm has somewhat subsided, these principles appear to be appreciated by the great body of the community."

It is confidently hoped and believed that the same principles commend themselves to the great body of the people in every part of our Union.—May these sentiments predominate, and may all people—South or North, East or West—Colonizationists or Abolitionists, or opposed to both or either, or in favour of both or either, or indifferent, RESPECT THE LAWS.

'Yes; Mr. Mathew Carey of Philadelphia, a warm friend to humanity and advocate for colonization, has laid before the world a table showing the progressive increase of the coloured population of our country, and the probable increase for the time to come; and by his statement it appears that,

In 1790, our coloured population was		757,178;
1800,	- - - -	1,006,921;
1810,	- - - -	1,377,780;
1820,	- - - -	1,771,658;
1830,	- - - -	2,330,039;

which shows an increase of 1,572,831, in 40 years.

'At the same rate of increase, it will be for the next 40 years, as follows:

In 1840, whole number	- -	3,045,504;
1850,	- - - -	4,111,430;
1860,	- - - -	5,549,435;
1870,	- - - -	7,491,737.'

'How formidable,' said Caroline, 'would be an insurrection of millions of slaves! and these perhaps aided by tens of thousands of naturalized citizens whose sympathies are all with adverse powers, and abetted also, it may be, by the blind zeal of many *native* citizens who consider not the full tendency of their views and efforts, as well as by the reckless ambition of the unprincipled! An African sceptre, or that of some other foreign power, may yet be wielded over some part or the whole of our country.'

'I do not think that an event like that will ever be,' said Mr. L., 'although, as I have said, we are far from secure. We may be scourged, and that severely, to drive us to duty, that the African may be permitted to go up from his house of bondage. Band after band of the unhappy sons of Af-

rica may be cut down, by the sword of defence, but this necessity will be no light affliction upon the heart of humanity; and it will be no light judgment which falls upon us when we shall look over the long catalogue of the victims of the nocturnal massacre—whole sections of our land being turned into bloody sepulchres, filled with the ghastly corpses of our friends, hoary age and smiling infancy, manhood in its strength, and womanhood in its loveliness, virgins in their beauty, and young men in their vigour, involved in promiscuous butchery, and strewed beneath the bleeding thousands of slaves and their abettors, who, having done the deed, are made to atone for it by their own blood.'

CONVERSATION XXVIII.

"I behold with the sincerest pleasure the commencement of an institution whose progress and termination will, I trust, be attended with the most successful results. I shall probably not live to witness the vast changes in the condition of man which are about to take place in the world; but the era is already commenced, its progress is apparent, its end is certain. * * Where then, my dear Sir, will be the last foot-hold of slavery in the world? Is it destined to be the opprobrium of this fine country."—*Lafayette.*

The conversation being resumed, Mr. L. said, 'If the colonization scheme succeed, even partially, does it not appear beyond doubt, my children, that our country will be greatly benefited? It will be enriched. Tens of thousands of places will be opened for those of our own colour, and habits, and sympathies—and by a more wholesome population and grateful labour, industry will be promoted, misery alleviated, our country strengthened. Africans themselves will be enriched and blessed in their father's native land, and the benefit will be thus mutual.'

Said Henry, 'I should think it would be considered a settled point that general and immediate emancipation is hardly safe, and not preferable to slavery either for the whites or the blacks?'

Mr. L. considered it to be 'a sadly demonstrative truth that

the Negro cannot, in this country, become an enlightened and useful citizen, so long, at least, as what are denominated our prejudices against colour, &c. remain the same; for such are the circumstances in which he will be placed, unavoidably—that he will not, cannot feel a citizen's nameless incentives to a manly and noble conduct. The almost united voice of those who have had the best opportunity of judging in the case, is 'liberate them only on the condition of their going to Africa, Hayti, or some place where they will be blessed by their liberty, and we secure.' Nor is this the sentiment of those who are advocates for slavery; but of those whose souls indignantly disclaim so unworthy a bias, and whose hearts bleed for injured Africa.

'The slavery of other nations has been that chiefly of men of the same complexion with the free. As soon as the slave was released, he and his descendants might mingle and lose himself in the general community of the country, undistinguished by any stamp of nature upon his original. But here, the features, the complexion, and every peculiarity of his person, pronounce upon the ransomed slave another doom. He feels it—and he feels it too just as we should feel it, our conditions reversed. And if the day ever arrives when an universal emancipation of the slaves of the South shall be effected, and they remain upon the soil, those whites who may remain with them in portions of the country where there shall be a decided superiority of numbers on the side of the blacks, will be made themselves to feel that the differences which nature has caused, are serious obstacles in the way of their peace and happiness. The blacks will, in their turn, resent the idea of inferiority, assert a superiority themselves, and will become the oppressors. Such is the honest opinion of thousands.

'The object of the Colonization Society, therefore, meets

the views of those who wish the freedom of slaves, but who desire also to see them in a community of their own, "where they may taste the joys, sustain the honours, and be stimulated by the lofty aspirings of freemen; where their colour shall be the common colour, and where a darkness of skin shall neither cramp the expansive energies of their intellects, slacken the vigour of their efforts, nor in any way establish an insuperable barrier between them and the first honours of the state." Believing as they do, and in perfect consistency with the kindliest regard for their coloured brethren, that black and white can never associate in society as white now associates with white, on equal terms, having one community of interest in business, in marriage, and the participation of all rights; and that, therefore, they can never live together in happiness, and that one of these two great and distinctive bodies must always hold the ascendency, they feel impelled by a sacred regard for the best interests of their coloured brethren, to encourage their colonization in a land, where if their happiness consists at all in independence, they may be most happy.'

Said Caroline, 'It is very evident that great wisdom and prudence are necessary in determining a question of such moment. O, I wish that good men could all think alike, and act together in this matter, pursuing right measures and cherishing right desires. I am satisfied that the whole subject, in all its relations and bearings, is too little understood.'

'Dr. Hodgkin, of London, a warm friend and advocate of Colonization, has suggested that the fundamental principle of the Colonization Society may be compared with that of the Bible Society, whose avowed object is the diffusion of the pure word of God, "without note or comment, an object to which few can be opposed who are not opposed to

the Bible." "Its single object is 'the colonization of the free people of colour, with their consent, in Africa, or such other place as Congress may deem most expedient.' I conceive," says Dr. Hodgkin, "that the founders of the society are entitled to praise for having given so brief, and, at the same time, so comprehensive a definition of their object. It sets forth explicitly abundant work for any society to undertake, without advancing any thing which can come in collision with the expressed or even secret opinions of any parties or individuals, unless it be of those who believe that the well-being of the blacks will be promoted in proportion to the increase of their numbers within the States, a doctrine which appears to have originated since the formation of the Colonization Society. * * It cannot, however, be supposed that the supporters of the Bible Society merely contemplate the scattering of Bibles and Testaments, from which no other effect is to proceed than the mere occupation of space. They look forward to their becoming the powerful agents of an enlightening and moralizing influence. But if we interrogate the members of that society individually, we shall probably find, that, besides the one object in which they all cordially unite, there are other inducements, differing in each, and which could not be brought forward without their again becoming the subjects of schismatic convulsions and violent dispute. * * * The principal motive appears to be to benefit the coloured population; and more especially that portion of it, which, though not literally loaded with servile chains, is nevertheless suffering from the pains of slavery, and, with but few exceptions, reduced to a miserable and degraded rank in society, and for whose assistance many comparatively unsuccessful efforts have previously been made. At the same time the founders of the Society were fully sensible that the baneful influence of

slavery was by no means limited to those objects of their care, but that it was also generally felt by the great mass of the white population."

'Permit me here, my dear children,' said Mr. L., 'to mention the case of one whom I respect and greatly esteem, with whom I have often sat at the table of our common Lord, and whom I have seen year after year shedding around him the influence of a christian example, in circumstances both prosperous and afflictive. I took some pains, a few years since, when travelling in the Southern part of our country, to call upon him, that I might converse with him on the subject of our present conversation. This man—I will recall the expression—this gentleman, for gentleman he was, in the legitimate sense of the term, had been himself a slave. He gave for his freedom, from what he had earned over and above the daily sum which was required by an indulgent master, who had hired him his time, *one thousand dollars*. He then, by patient and persevering industry and frugality, purchased his wife and child who were also slaves; and for them was required to give to their exorbitant master, *fourteen hundred dollars!* When he told me of this latter fact, which I knew before, he said, with a smile of self-gratulation, and with two meanings, both of which I believe were most sincere, "She is my *dear* wife!" He still lives to enjoy the fruit of his noble efforts, except as death has removed his companion. He is of a commanding person, modest demeanour, gentlemanly address, well-informed mind, humble piety, good judgment, business talents, and was, when I last saw him, surrounded by an interesting family, and possessed of two valuable plantations. He was also said to be owner of a large number of slaves, and had been instrumental in procuring the freedom of a still larger number. Said this indi-

vidual, in answer to my inquiries, designed to elicit his views, "I cannot, to be sure, contemplate the condition of my family without feeling. Colour is a dividing line that of course separates them from the society of white people, in a great measure, and there are few associates for them of sufficient respectability among the coloured. Respectable coloured people are not indeed at home in this country. I *feel* most for my children," said he, the big tear starting in his eye and falling down his manly cheek. I suggested that some had thought to better their condition by removal; he said, "some recommended Ohio, some New-England, or elsewhere, but the same difficulty existed in every place. Much had been said of Hayti, but our own government and institutions were better than their's. He had read and thought much of Liberia, and approved of the colony, but the coloured people generally, prefer to remain where they are; he was himself getting to be old, and should soon be done with earth." He expressed himself with modesty and caution, but with proper self-respect, intimating that if he could see his family differently situated, not isolated as they were, he should die happy. It was decidedly his opinion that the whites and blacks can never live together as one community, both enjoying all those privileges which are indispensable to the happiness of either.

'I will now advert briefly to other considerations which should influence us in desiring to see the evils and the reproach of slavery done away.

'A powerful motive, in my mind, is the fact, that whilst humanity and patriotism call us to the work, the nations of the earth look to us that we should do it. They have before them, hung up, as it were in mid-heaven, in view of the whole world, for all to gaze upon, that noble instrument, our *Declaration of Independence.*

A nation's oath.—Our obligations as a christian country.

'That Declaration, it has been well said, is a nation's oath; the solemn and direct appeal of a christion nation to the high Providence above; an appeal, the responsibilities of which were assumed in the face of the whole world. When I think of that declaration, and of the comment which slavery furnishes upon one line of it, I confess that I feel the patriot's glow of wounded pride and deep regret; and, were it practicable, I would fain hold up that memorable instrument to the view of my countrymen, and beseech them to weigh again its solemn import. With a voice that should sound from the St. Lawrence to California, and from these shores to the farthest West, could it be done consistently with our obligations to all, I would exhort our country to look, and by harmonious action acquit itself of its duty, wiping off from our national escutcheon the only blot that has ever fallen upon it. Could the resources of our national treasury be brought to the accomplishment of this noble deed, every section of our common country uniting cheerfully in the arrangement, it would reflect high honour upon our beloved land.

'Again, we should feel that as a christian people we owe a duty to Africa and her oppressed children. Although a christian country, our fathers, such was the ignorance of those times in respect to the true nature and evils of slavery, sinned against humanity, and wronged that unhappy, pagan continent. We should feel that it is our duty to do all that Providence now permits, to recompense Africa. And we should also feel that if we neglect our duty in this respect, we have the more reason to tremble for our safety, since, where much is given, the more is required.'

'I cannot see,' Caroline very properly remarked, 'how any one who has the heart of a man, can be indifferent

to the object; much less how any *christian* in feeling can oppose.'

Mr. L. after a moment's pause, here repeated those lines from Pierpont,

> "Hear'st thou, O God, those chains,
> Clanking on *Freedom's* plains,
> By *christian's* wrought?
> Them who those chains have worn,
> *Christians* from home have torn,
> *Christians* have hither borne,
> *Christians* have bought!"

'God does hear,' Mr. L. continued, 'and already does he who has said "Æthiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God," see her beginning to stretch out her hands, and implore his blessing. She lifts one hand to heaven and prays; with the other she beckons her children to come up from their house of bondage. If we awake to our duty, heaven will be with us; if we will hold back or resist, we may still be assured that God is with Africa. Her cause is the cause of justice, of religion, of humanity. God *will* favour it, and if we oppose, he may do it at our cost.

'It is true the Almighty has not broken the silence of the heavens, to speak in favour of Africa's cause, and of the colonization enterprise; but his approbation has not been withheld. Conducted with reference to his will and glory, with regard to his authority, having also the moral and religious good, as well as the civil and political elevation of the colonists in view, God has decidedly favoured the cause, and there can be no reasonable doubt whatever that the colonization enterprise is pleasing to him. As my greatly esteemed friend, the Rev. Dr. Beecher said, the other day, in his colonization address at Pittsburgh, "I do not think that a society, heaven-moved as this society was, by such wisdom as

Samuel J. Mills was blessed with, and by such wisdom as he commanded into its service, moved on by such faith and prayer, and so blessed of heaven, as this has been in its past labours, and still is, could have been born by wisdom from *beneath.* As the natives who chased Captain Wilson, the commander of the Duff, until they saw him plunge into a stream so full of alligators that if a man did but put his finger in the water it would be bitten off, and who supposed when they saw it, that they need do no more, but upon beholding him emerging and climbing up the bank on the other side, cried, 'Don't fire, he is God's man:' so I would say of this society, it is God's Society. In its commencement it was his; in its progress it has been his; and the station it now occupies in the midst of all the difficulties which have grown out of inexperience, and the peculiar nature of the subject, shows it to be his; and so does its success in Africa."

'It appears to me,' said Caroline, 'that the favour of heaven towards the colonies, and the cause of colonization, is very apparent; and I wonder that any should dare oppose, lest, haply, they "be found fighting against God." And then the fact that so *many* good and wise men who can be influenced on this subject by no sinister motives, some of whom were once unfavourable to colonization, but on examination have changed their minds, are among the warm friends and self-denying promoters of colonization, is to my mind evidence that is almost

"Confirmation strong
As holy writ."

A Madison, a Monroe, a Carroll, Judge Washington, our greatly venerated and now lamented good Bishop White, Robert Ralston, John Marshall, William Wirt, Fitzhugh, Finley, Evarts, Cornelius, Wisner, sainted spirits now in heaven

with Ashmun, and Mills, and Carey, and Randall, and Cox, and Anderson, and others who died in the service of Africa; what a noble list might we write of its friends from the catalogue of the lamented dead, whose remembrance is blessed! And then the living—what an array of the names of the great and the good come up before the mind!'

'Many prayers ascend to heaven,' said Mr. L., 'in behalf of the colonization enterprise. It is a cause dear to many a pious heart.'

CONVERSATION XXIX.

"In vain ye limit mind's unwearied spring:
What! can ye lull the winged winds asleep,
Arrest the rolling world, or chain the deep?"—*Campbell.*

'GOOD MORNING, my children.'

'Good morning, Pa,' said Henry.

'Good morning, Pa,' said Caroline. 'I have been thinking much of Africa and Colonization, of America and our duty,' said Caroline; 'and the more I contemplate it, the more the work in which the Colonization Society is engaged, appears so noble and godlike, that I should think it would be considered by all as worthy of the noblest energies of our nature—worthy the efforts and prayers of every patriot and christian in our land.'

'We have reason to hope that the time is not far distant,' said Mr. L., 'when the benevolent and pious of our land will all engage in this work, regarding Africa, more than we have hitherto done, as a wide field for missionary enter-

prise, where our most ardent wishes and untiring efforts should be directed.

Every passing year, the condition and claims of Africa are more and better understood, and the subject is taking deeper and deeper hold on the honour, the justice, the patriotic and christian sympathies of our highly favoured country. The work will be done—and I love to anticipate the day.

> "Where barb'rous hordes on Scythian mountains roam,
> Truth, Mercy, Freedom, yet shall find a home;
> Where'er degraded nature bleeds and pines,
> From Guinea's coast to Siber's dreary mines,
> Truth shall pervade th' unfathom'd darkness there,
> And light the dreadful features of despair;
> There the stern captive spurn his heavy load,
> And ask the image back that heaven bestow'd:
> Fierce in his eyes the fire of valour burn,
> And, as the slave departs, the man return."

Yes, it will be done, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. It will be done—and Africa, enlightened, regenerated, blessed, will remember the Colonization Society as her Moses, which led her up from bondage. Forgetting her wrongs, obliterating from her mind the dark history of all her griefs, and remembering only the blessings received, she will look to this happy land, and say, breathing the sweet spirit of the gospel of Christ, "There are our Benefactors."'

'I trust, Pa, the vision will be fulfilled. I love to think of Africa as a field of missionary enterprise. It is so extensive, and gives promise of such rich blessings.'

'As a missionary field,' said Mr. L., 'it is limited only by

the confines of one of the largest quarters of the habitable globe. Other missionary operations, although successful to a considerable degree, have not had a success corresponding in extent with the piety and benevolence of their aim, or with the amount of means which have been applied. Great advantages are united in the colonization enterprise. "Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary going forth with his credentials, in the holy cause of civilization and religion and free institutions, and the colonies which we establish will be so many points from which the beams of christianity and civilization will radiate on all that empire of ignorance and sin. These influences *must* be poured in from the western coast. The northern boundary is within the dominion of the false Prophet, and no light is to be expected from that direction. If we look towards its eastern border, we look to the region and shadow of death." Colonization deviates from the practice of other missionary institutions, and employs as agents the very brethren of the people sought to be converted. "It proposes to send, not one or two pious men into a foreign land, among a different and perhaps suspicious race, of another complexion; but to transport annually, for an indefinite number of years, hundreds and thousands of missionaries, of the descendants of Africa herself, with the same interests, sympathies, and constitutions of the natives. This colony of missionaries is to operate not alone by the preaching of the gospel, but also by works of ocular demonstration. It will open forests, build towns, erect temples of worship, and practically exhibit to the sons of Africa the beautiful moral spectacle and the superior advantages of our own religious and social systems." Its means are simple; its end is grand and magnificent. Christianity will beautify Africa, and civilization will enlighten it. The Mahometans of the North will feel the influence; the Pa-

gans who worship in her forests and groves, will be saved; Abyssinia now lighted by a few rays of christian light, will feel the full shining of the Sun of righteousness; idols will fall; human blood will no more be poured from victims sacrificed; the slave-ship will be driven from the coast; and Africa will feel a return of more than Egyptian greatness—more than Carthagenian glory.

'This seems to have been the view which the sainted Mills had at the very first. "If," says he, "by pursuing the object now in view, a few of the free blacks of good character could be settled in any part of the African coast, they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations there, and their settlement might increase gradually, and some might in suitable time go out from that settlement, and from others, and prove the occasion of great good."

'To what work more noble, could the powers of this whole nation be applied, than that of bringing up from darkness, debasement, and misery, a race of men, and shedding abroad over the wide territories of Africa, the light of science, freedom, and christianity. Whilst humanity points to the thousands of the victims of the slave-trade, and conjures us to aid in its suppression—and whilst patriotism calls us to seek our country's good and wash our hands as a nation of the guilt of slavery, religion speaks with loftier tone and instructs us that all men are "one flesh"—that we are brethren—that he who loves not his brother, cannot love God—that all are equally bound to the service of the Almighty—that all are equally entitled to the good offices of each other, and that he who would not lay down his life for his brethren, has not ascended to the height of the Saviour's charity. The day will come when christian princi-

ples shall rule the world, and Africa will be a bright and happy part of the Saviour's dominions.'

Henry here started a difficulty on which he had thought much

'We will admit,' said he, 'that emancipation cannot liberate us from the responsibility that rests upon us; that we must do what we can to provide for our coloured population in a country where they shall be truly free; and that we must be satisfied with nothing short of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and the regeneration of Africa. But is it not to be feared that there may be a lack of mental capacity for self-government, which will, after all, render it impossible for them to become a free, civilized, and independent nation, and make abortive all plans for their separate and independent existence?'

'Recollect, Henry,' said his father, 'that but a few years since, the coloured population of St. Domingo was sunk in all the degradation and ignorance and improvidence of slavery. They took the work of emancipation into their own hands, and effecting their deliverance, established a regular government, enacted wholesome laws, ably administered those laws, and commenced a march of improvement which promises happy results. The world cannot exhibit a brighter example of wisdom and prudence, if we consider that example in connexion with their former debasement.'

'But, oh!' said Caroline, with energy, 'twas a bloody, cruel struggle.'

'Yes;' said Mr. L., 'there were scenes of violence at

tending it, which every benevolent heart deplores. The very thought of it makes one shudder.'

'And yet, Pa,' said Henry, 'we cannot but respect the mental capacity and the energy of character, which brought the final *result*.

'Why, Pa, since the stain of slavery is national, and we as a nation are so deeply concerned in its removal, may not appropriations be made from the national treasury to aid in the object? If our national Congress would agree to sustain the expense of the removal of the blacks who feel disposed to colonize, and to relieve the owners of slaves of a part of that sacrifice which must be consequent on relinquishing their claims, it appears to me that the work might proceed with as much despatch at least as would be consistent with the safety of the settlements.'

Mr. L. replied, 'Several of our most eminent statesmen have recommended the appropriation of the income arising from the sale of the public lands, to the aid of African colonization. Mr. Madison has suggested that if doubts are entertained by any as to the power of Congress to appropriate the national funds to the object, the requisite authority might easily be obtained by an amendment of the Constitution. It is to be presumed that the States both North and South would approve the measure. In my own view, there is no doubt of the right of appropriation. The public money has been expended in aid of colonization, and why may it not be still further appropriated? Mr. Jefferson said in 1811, in a letter to Mr. Clay, in reference to a colony in Africa, "Indeed, nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would themselves undertake to make

such an establishment on the coast of Africa." His various correspondence and efforts in relation to this matter, clearly show what were his views. And, said Mr. Monroe, "As to the people of colour, if the people of the Southern States wish to emancipate them, (and I never will consent to emancipate them without sending them out of the country,) they may invite the United States to assist us; but without such an invitation, the other States ought not, and will not, interfere. I am for marching on with the greatest circumspection upon this subject." These distinguished men seem to have had no insuperable difficulty in regard to the constitutional question of the right of appropriation.'

'I love,' said Caroline, 'to think it possible that the day will come, and that it is already near, when our country will find every obstacle removed for the free exercise of our utmost benevolence. I long to see our country free from slavery's stain; I long to see the children of Africa go forth by the free consent of the South, and by the friendly aid of our whole country, from their house of bondage; and I confess I long as much, or more, to see *Africa free* through the influence of the gospel. I was never accustomed, until these conversations, to look upon colonization as a missionary enterprise. But now, viewed in this light alone, it appears to me one of the grandest schemes of true christian benevolence that was ever undertaken by man.'

'Colonization,' Mr. L. rejoined, 'proposes liberty to Africa and her children in a nobler sense than is generally considered. It proposes freedom, indeed, from physical bondage; and, although not by any compulsory or objectionable process, (which surely should greatly recommend it to all friends of peace and justice,) it proposes to secure

great temporal blessings to a now enslaved people, and to a continent; but it proposes more—a liberty

> " unsung
> By poets, and by senators unpraised;
> Which monarchs cannot give, nor all the powers
> Of earth and hell confederate take away,
> Which, whoso feels, shall be enslaved no more;
> 'Tis liberty of heart derived from heaven." '

The conversation was now closed with the understanding that it should be resumed on the morrow.

CONVERSATION XXX.

"The God of heaven, I believe from my very soul, is with us. Under such auspices we cannot fail. With zeal, energy, and perseverance, we shall subdue all difficulties and ultimately realize every hope."

Henry Clay.

HENRY observed that he had 'noticed, on looking over the anti-colonization publications, that it is objected that, even if funds are furnished, it will be impossible to transport so great numbers to Africa as the present and rapidly increasing coloured population of our country, vessels not being sufficiently numerous for the purpose.'

Mr. L. replied, 'I know that this is said; and it, perhaps, strikes the mind of the casual observer with some force. The annual increase of our coloured population, 80,000 or more being added every year, is great; and the annual increase may be more than 100,000 before the necessary arrangements can be made for the removal of a much greater number per annum than hitherto. But with adequate means, and under the protection of the national government, the transportation of emigrants will become a great and important branch of business. Our navigators will provide ships enough, when they are sure of a reasonable recompense. A profitable commerce will be opened with Africa for her im-

portant native productions; and the growing colonies will themselves navigate the seas, claiming a share of the honour and profits of the transportation. Increasing numbers of the free will, unaided, also find their way to the land of their fathers, and "having formed establishments of their own, and in their turn visiting our shores with crews of coloured men, enterprising and prosperous, they will draw others after them" to the then happy and growing colonies from which they come.

'How many, suppose you, are every year transported into Canada and to this country, from among the refuse population of Great Britain and Ireland? Thousands of these are sent in crowds and landed upon our shores as forlorn outcasts. *We* would do better by Africans than Great Britain, with all her boasted philanthropy, does even for *her own children*. We would place them under far more favourable circumstances. And our resources are fully equal to all that we can desire, if the national aid may only be obtained. United States' ships of war might be advantageously employed in this service, in time of peace, transporting under the stars and stripes of the national flag, to the land of their ancestors, the sons of injured Africa, where they may enjoy the full blessings of religion and liberty. It would be a noble service, and an honour to our flag.

'It is true, we do not expect to remove a world, without preparing for the operation; but the transportation of our coloured population can be effected, and expeditiously too, in comparison with the magnitude of the work. Great things are usually accomplished slowly. Liberia has advanced far more rapidly than did the infant colonies of this country. It has met with obstacles, in its progress, and so did these colonies; and we may well ask, what great human undertaking was ever exempt from difficulties? Are

we referred to Liberia's bills of mortality? A large portion of the deaths are attributable to rash exposure, and other imprudencies, under the action of an untried sun, and subject to the action of a strange climate. Another cause is probably to be found in the destitute condition of some of the colonists, who having been just released from bondage, had neither the foresight nor the means requisite for a suitable outfit, leaving them in a situation of exposure which I am sure the experience and wisdom and benevolence of the friends of colonization will guard against in future.* Still the colony can triumphantly challenge a comparison with the bills of mortality of other colonies, in their early history on *any* continent. Where were the first settlers of Jamestown e'er the four seasons had rolled by? In their graves. Where were a majority of those who landed on Plymouth Rock, before the rigours of the first winter were past? They were numbered with the dead. True, they were a sacrifice to public good. So the event is now regarded by their posterity and the world; and so the lesser trials which Liberia has encountered will be viewed when the page of history shall bear a fair record of the past and the present, and of a few years to come.'

* It is to be hoped that those whose generous feeling leads them to liberate their slaves for the purpose of their voluntary settlement in Africa, will avail themselves of the experience which is had in relation to this subject, and see that those whom they manumit for emigration are provided with all suitable apparel and other necessaries and comforts. A mattress and bedclothes, and a full supply of cotton and woollen clothing, are indispensable. The author is happy to find that the ladies, who, their benevolent hearts always prompting them to kind actions, are generally found efficient supporters of the cause of colonization where its claims are understood, have in many instances rendered very great assistance in the preparation and gratuitous offering of bedding and garments for the destitute among the emigrating colonists. May this good work of charity be continued, and the number who shall lend a helping hand be greatly increased!

Caroline said, 'I do not think that it can be reasonably objected to colonization that its success has been slow, for two reasons; one is, as appears, that such is not the fact; but, if it were, another reason is, that the same objection would be against every good cause—even against the christian religion.'

'True, Caroline,' Mr. L. replied, 'notwithstanding the toils of its friends for near two thousand years, and the blood of its many martyrs shed in the cause, even the knowledge of our holy religion is confined to a comparatively small part of the human family.'

'Another objection,' said Henry, 'which *I* have heard, is that, if all the blacks would go to Africa, they would not find *room* there for so many.'

'This objection, I am sure,' said his father, 'can never be seriously urged, unless through extreme ignorance. What are two millions and a half of people to the vast exent of the African continent, stretching 4,800 miles from North to South, and 4000 miles from East to West? They would not be more than would be *needed* to help civilize and christianize the benighted natives, and establish among them arts, and commerce, and agriculture, and the like. Africa, when we consider its extent, its variety of soil, and capability of sustaining an immense population, is thinly peopled. Colonization, it should be remembered, is not necessarily confined to Liberia and its vicinity.

'It is a lamentable reflection,' said Mr. L., 'that, charity leads us to think, for the want of a faithful examination of the subject the most serious obstacles which the cause has met in its progress, have been the untenable and oft-refuted

objections, bitter opposition and severe denunciations of professed friends of Africa in our own country. It grieves me that it should be so, since among them are some whom I greatly esteem, notwithstanding this their very great error.'

'I do not see, Pa, how any who understand this subject, (and all ought to understand it,) *can* oppose. If the Colonization Society cannot, in their labours of benevolence, do *all* that is needful to be done, and as *soon* as is desirable, yet why should good men object to their *attempting all that is really practicable*, and that would be, if accomplished, really *useful?*'

'Professor Silliman has gone so far as to remark,' said Mr. L., 'that all efforts on the part of the friends of African improvement to discountenance and oppose voluntary African colonization, are morally wrong, and can be called by no milder name than systematized opposition against the whole African cause, embracing slaves, free coloured people, and the native nations of Africa.

'Could the demands of many be realized, and the coloured race be made free in this country, however well they may intend, I am sure they would at once and continually have cause to mourn over those who are now slaves, and in their labours of love would find ample employment in visits of mercy to our jails and penitentiaries, and to the haunts of vice, and abodes of poverty. They would find the country involved in great ruin; the coloured people in great wretch ed ness, and their very success would be their own defeat, so far as benevolent interest is concerned. But their wishes, I am morally certain, *cannot* be realized, even though rivers of blood should be shed: and the longer the duration and the greater the fierceness of their opposition, the longer do they perpetuate

the evils of slavery in our land, and the stronger do they rivet the chains of the slave, and the heavier the calamity which they bring both on the bond and the free, especially the slave and the free blacks.

'And then, let them say, shall not Africa be civilized and converted to God!

"While on the distant Hindoo shore
Messiah's cross is reared,
While Pagan votaries bow no more
With idol blood besmeared—

While Palestine again doth hear
The gospel's joyful sound,
While Islam's crescents disappear
From Calvary's holy ground—

Say, shall not Afric's fated land
With news of grace be blest?
Say, shall not Æthiopia's band
Enjoy the promis'd rest?"

'They who have considered colonization in its influence on our own country only and on the blacks that are in it, have taken a very inadequate view of its amazing interest and unbounded extent. If the plan fail, or be hindered by opposition, they who oppose this great and good work, I do believe will have a tremendous account to give.'

'I do not see, Pa, that the Colonization Society and the Abolition or Anti-slavery Society, are communities of *necessarily conflicting interests*.'

'They are not, and there should be no controversy between them. "The cause of emancipation will advance as

fast as means of emigration and of comfortable settlement in Africa or in other lands are provided. Cut off this hope, and remove this security, and the slave-holding States will refuse to add to the mass of free people of colour, already, in their view, too numerous for safety." They will resolve on making more strong their chains, hopeless of relief, to guard against a greater calamity than appears to them even slavery itself; and "linked in full military preparation and in wakeful vigilance," they will await the issue. "In the meantime, the slightest appearance or even suspicion of revolt will be visited by prompt and sanguinary retribution." Thus, "anxiety will shroud the domestic circle of the slaveholder in gloom, and despair will settle upon the dark mind of the slave"—until perhaps some awful explosion shall come!

'There is one objection to the American Colonization Society which, it appears to me, may with equal propriety be urged against the benevolent institutions of the day generally, and the unreasonableness of which is too apparent to justify any misapprehension of the force of the objection, or to permit its further use; that is, that the Colonization Society does not itself engage in the work of emancipation, urging the duty of immediate abolition. This truly is to object that one great and good institution, which, with great sacrifice, zeal, perseverance, and success, pursues a great and worthy object, is not *another* institution, aye, quite another thing, which it never professed to be. Why may not the same be objected to all Missionary Associations, Education Societies, Bible Societies, Tract Societies, &c. that their professed object and direct aim is not *abolition?* They are formed for the accomplishment of great and good objects; but they have nothing to do with an interference in the domestic relations which they find existing in our coun-

try. They would send the gospel to all, without distinction of colour, that are perishing for lack of vision—they would assist in raising up and qualifying the pious and self-denying to preach the everlasting gospel to a world that lieth in wickedness—they would put into the hands of every son and daughter of Adam the word of life—they would scatter abroad by every proper means that light which may guide in the paths of peace and lead to holiness, happiness, and heaven; but they have each their distinct object in view, whilst they are but several parts of one great system of christian benevolence. The American Colonization Society aims, as one branch of the great system of that benevolence which the Spirit of God has awakened in christendom, to open an asylum for the oppressed in our land, encouraging voluntary emancipation, and to put an end to the slave-trade and the oppression of Africa by planting christian colonies upon her shores. Is not the object great and good? Is it reasonable to oppose a good object because, forsooth, it is not *another good object? Why* should so much opposition centre upon colonization?

'Those who constitute the Anti-slavery and Colonization Societies, I may confidently say, without at all approving of all the principles of the former, much less of all their language and measures, are agreed for the most part, in their views of slavery as a great evil, and in respect to the desirableness of its termination; and disagree in respect to the best and proper and most effectual means by which, under all the circumstances, its extinction shall be consummated. With an honest difference of opinion on *this* subject, surely each may move under its own banner without molestation of the other, each in its own sphere, at its own proper work: in the use of all *proper* means, and ultimately, indulging the spirit of kindness and love, and pursuing

If colonization fail, high hopes will be blasted.

lawful and honourable measures, they may join together in the celebration of a glorious triumph.'

'I trust, Pa,' said C., 'that bright days are yet before us, and that great and happy results will crown the efforts of the true friends of Africa. I certainly do not see how any can oppose the colonization cause, nor yet, indeed, how they can refuse to sustain its efforts.'

'Should the cause of colonization fail,' said Mr. L., 'those efforts which have hitherto been crowned with such signal success being discouraged, or through opposition rendered fruitless, I am sure that the fond hopes of many a patriot—the devout prayers of many a christian—the awakened sensibilities of many a master—and the delighted visions of many a slave—will be most sadly disappointed.

'Suppose, for a moment, this to be:—the American Colonization Society has opened an asylum for the oppressed—she points to a luxuriant soil, to a genial climate—with gratitude, she tells how God has turned the hearts of the heathen towards the colony—thousands press upon her anxious to depart to the land of their fathers—masters are ready to permit thousands more to swell their numbers—and she calls to us to help Africa, to help America. The voice of opposition, and bitter reproach is heard! Some fold their arms with listless unconcern—others are disheartened and cease from their wonted benevolence—and the opposition triumphs! That wisdom and philanthropy which have been successfully exerted in devising the plan which has caused this hitherto soul-cheering progress in the cause of liberty, humanity, and religion, and in unfolding the resources for its final accomplishment, has all been in vain! That territory, so extensive, so salubrious, so fertile, must

be yielded again to savage beasts of prey—those flourishing towns, fair villages, peaceful habitations, must be no longer tenanted by a happy new-born race of freemen—those farms must be laid waste—that commerce must close—those lights of religion and science, churches and schools, must be extinguished—those banners of freedom, and those impregnable fortresses over which they wave, and that free republican government and the press which vindicates the righteous cause, must cease—those nearly 5,000 souls charmed with a Pisgah view of promised blessings of learning, freedom, and religion, must be exiled from their schools, their temples of justice, their churches dedicated to God, and from all they now hold dear—and Afric's dreary coast must again reverberate the deafening yell of despair wrung from many an agonized heart! Would this be a *blessing?* or, say, would it be an awful CALAMITY? A *calamity? Why*, but because the Colonization Society, by the blessing of God, has effected this GREAT GOOD?

'And now, *may* this Society, which has been enabled to do so much, and whose prospects are so cheering, be permitted to go on with more than arithmetical progression in its work of mercy? It will, I am confident, never cause to humanity a tear; it may, and I doubt not, will, give joy and happiness to millions! Shall it *not live?*—shall it *not be permitted* to prosper? It is preparing the way for the final REDEMPTION of *Africa*, and for the *universal sway* of THE KINGDOM OF THE LORD JESUS! *Who will presume to stay its progress?* To detract from its holy influence is TREASON TO OUR COUNTRY—MOST UNMERCIFUL TO AFRICA—SACRILEGE IN THE VIEW OF HEAVEN! But to aid this cause, is HIGH HONOUR—A MOST DISTINGUISHED PRIVILEGE!'

APPENDIX.

EARLY AND DISTINGUISHED FRIENDS OF COLONIZATION.

In the progress of the foregoing Conversations, particular reference has been made to several of the earliest and distinguished friends of African colonization: the author is fully sensible that in an attempt to do justice to some, he may by omission seem to do injustice to others,

> ——"Qui tantum inter caput extulit omnes,
> Quantum lenta solent, inter viburna cypressi."

He cannot, however, refrain from a passing tribute, before these sheets pass from the press, as an acknowledgment of the valuable services of a few others, (de Viris Illustribus,) among the noble friends of Africa, whose work is done on earth, but who have left a memorial behind them, and who "shall be in everlasting remembrance." And first may be mentioned, with propriety, more particularly than has been done before,

The Rev. Robert Finley.

To Mr. Finley, at that time resident at Basking Ridge, New-Jersey, is conceded by all, a great share in the ho-

nour of originating the American Colonization Society. For years, this eminent christian had viewed the condition of the free coloured population of our country with sympathizing interest, and "the whole vigour of his intellect was aroused, to form plans for their relief." Among "the exiled children of Africa, this good man saw not merely the heirs to a temporal, but to an eternal existence; not those possessing merely the virtues of natural and social affection, but also capacities for the high improvements and joys of an immortal state." Early in the year 1815, he expressed himself to a friend as follows: "The longer I live to see the wretchedness of men, the more I admire the virtue of those who devise, and with patience labour to execute plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject, the state of the *free blacks*, has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness, as appears to me. Every thing connected with their condition, including their colour, is against them; nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be greatly meliorated, while they shall continue among us. Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a colony on some part of the coast of Africa, similar to the one at Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and of protection and support till they are established? Could they be sent back to Africa, a three-fold benefit would arise. We should be cleared of them; we should send to Africa a population partly civilized and christianized for their benefit; and our blacks themselves would be put in a better situation. Think much upon this subject, and then please to write me when you have leisure."

Mr. Finley was satisfied of the practicability and utility of the project, and encouraged by the opinions of others, "resolved to make a great effort to carry his benevolent

views into effect. * * In making preparatory arrangements, he spent a considerable part of the fall of 1816," and, "determined to test the popularity, and in some measure the practicability of the whole system," he at length introduced the subject to public notice in the city of Washington. For this purpose, he visited several members of Congress, the President, the heads of Department, and others. His conversation and zeal is said to have done much in arresting attention to the subject, and conciliating many who at first appeared opposed. He proposed a special season of prayer in reference to the object, and several pious persons met him for the purpose of spending an hour in such an exercise. When told that some were incredulous, and that some ridiculed the plan proposed, he replied, "*I know this scheme is from* GOD."

Having disinterestedly and perseveringly prosecuted the great object of his desire, and performed a conspicuous part in the organization of the Society, he was soon called from his christian labours on earth, to his reward in heaven. His name stood enrolled among the Vice-Presidents of the institution—but his work was done; and upon the foundation which he laid, others were called by the providence of God to build.

JAMES MADISON,

the profound statesman, the accomplished scholar, the humble christian, who filled with so much honour the highest executive department of the nation, was the early friend of the Society, for many years one of its Vice-Presidents, its President at the time of his lamented death, and besides approving its plans and lending to it the influence of his name, contributed largely to its funds, and remembered it also in

his last will and testament, leaving to assist in its operations when he should be no more, the sum of $4,000—even more valuable, it is hoped, in its moral effect, than because of the pecuniary amount.

JEFFERSON, MONROE, AND CARROLL

may also be mentioned as among the zealous advocates of colonization, the last of whom was elected President of the Society upon the demise of Judge Washington.

THE HON. BUSHROD WASHINGTON,

the talents and virtues of whom are well known to have been of an exalted character, and who having practised with reputation and success in the profession of which he was so bright an ornament, was appointed by the first President Adams, in 1797, as Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States—the highest judicial tribunal of our country, was also the Society's early friend. Of this Society, he became the President at its origin, and ever felt much interest in its success. He gave much of his time and thoughts to the advancement of its designs, and was liberal in his donations. His views of the Society and its operations, are exhibited in an impressive manner, in an address which he delivered at the first annual meeting of the Society. The following is an extract:—

"In the magnificent plans now carrying on for the improvement and happiness of mankind, in many parts of the world, we cannot but discern the interposition of that Al-

mighty power, who alone could inspire and crown with success these great purposes. But amongst them all, there is perhaps none upon which we may more confidently implore the blessing of heaven, than that in which we are now associated. Whether we consider the grandeur of the object and the wide sphere of philanthropy which it embraces; or whether we view the present state of its progress under the auspices of this Society, and under the obstacles which might have been expected from the cupidity of many, we may discover in each a certain pledge that the same benignant hand which has made these preparatory arrangements, will crown our efforts with success. Having, therefore, these motives of piety to consecrate and strengthen the powerful considerations which a wise policy suggests, we may, I trust, confidently rely upon the liberal exertions of the public for the necessary means of effecting this highly interesting object."

Nor was this excellent man at all discouraged by the obstacles which it was necessary to encounter in the further prosecution of this good enterprise, or by the prospect of the greatness of the work which he saw was to be done. In a subsequent address, he says,

"If much yet remains to be done, we may nevertheless look back with satisfaction upon the work which has been accomplished; and may, I trust, without presumption, indulge the hope that the time is not far distant, when, by means of those for whose happiness we are labouring, Africa will participate in the inestimable blessings which result from civilization, a knowledge of the arts, and, above all, of the pure doctrines of the christian religion."

Chief Justice Marshall

also was a distinguished friend of colonization. The Colonization Herald has said, on noticing his lamented death, "It is not of the statesman or the judge that we would speak. Our humble tribute is paid to the early and steadfast friend of African Colonization, the oldest Vice-President of the American Colonization Society, and the patron of our own. Surrounded from his birth by a slave population, he knew its evils, and as a patriot, a philanthropist, and a christian, was sincerely desirous of doing all in his power to promote the welfare of his country, and render justice to the oppressed slave. His clear mind saw the difficulties of the subject, and the necessity of removing by degrees an evil which had grown too mighty to be forcibly overthrown without spreading devastation through the land. He saw that the sudden emancipation of the slaves of the Southern States, was morally impracticable, not only by the municipal law which forbid it, but by the still stronger law of nature, which declared it cruel and unjust, both to the masters and the slaves, to cast them forth unprotected and unprepared for their new condition. In the plan of colonization he saw the means of opening a door by which the oppressed may go free, with the prospect of attaining comfort and happiness, and vindicating their equal participation in the dignity of manhood. He was therefore among the earliest promoters of the American Colonization Society, and to his latest breath continued its steadfast friend. He generally attended the annual meetings of the society; and as the oldest Vice-President, frequently presided. He was a liberal contributor to its funds, and always manifested a lively interest in its welfare. One of the latest acts of his life was to contribute largely toward fitting out an expedition with colonists from Norfolk; and even in his last illness, though forbidden by his physicians to speak

much, he showed an unabated zeal in the cause. We mourn his loss. But we may still appeal with confidence and satisfaction to his example, and when the enemies of colonization attempt to brand our society with ignominy, and charge its friends with hypocrisy, and cruelty, and oppression, we may with honest pride repel the charge, and say it is the cause which won the approbation and secured the prayers and the services of JOHN MARSHALL."

It is suggested by another that "in forming an opinion upon a subject of such vast importance to the best interests of our country—aye, to the very existence of the Union, as the Negro question, it is well to look at the array of the great and the good, who have not only given the weight of their names, but have hallowed with their latest blessing the great cause they never ceased to love. The conscript fathers of the revolution, who laid the foundation of their country's greatness, who endured all the perils of the times that tried men's souls, and who showed that they knew how to appreciate the value of our happy union by mutual concession and a spirit of conciliation without which the blessings sought could not be secured to their posterity—these, almost to a man, were ardent colonizationists."

In this connexion it is highly proper to mention also and record the name of that venerable man, so recently taken from us, and who, for many years, as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Colonization Society, and in various ways, contributed so much to the advancement of the cause and the best interests of an oppressed race,

The Rt. Rev. William White, D. D.

Within the short space of about one year, a mournful blank has not only been left in the list of the officers of the Parent Society, by the translation of its illustrious President, James Madison, and from among its Vice-Presidents, the late Chief Justice of the United States, John Marshall, and last, the venerable Bishop White,

——"nomen clarum et venerabile!"

but these distinguished names have also been stricken by the hand of death from the list of 'Patrons of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania.' It is not long since the lamented Bishop, having braved, at the age of fourscore and eight, the inclemency of a stormy, snowy night, was seen presiding at the anniversary of the Young Men's Society.*

In making some mention of Bishop White, more extended than in other circumstances would be given, the author, it is hoped, need offer no apology for presenting an extract from the close of his discourse preached in Grace Church, Philadelphia, on the Sunday next succeeding the Bishop's death, and on the Sunday after, with additional particulars respecting the Bishop's last moments and general history, to his own charge in St. David's, the general incidents and data connected therewith having been gathered from such sources as were at that moment within reach.

'You have thought, brethren, in the progress of these remarks, of that venerable Father in God, whose obsequies we

* Since writing the above, Robert Ralston, Esq., another Vice-President of the Parent Society, and distinguished friend of Africa, has closed his earthly pilgrimage, honoured and lamented, in the ripeness of a good old age.

have so lately been called to attend, and whose lamented departure has clothed this sacred place with the tokens of our sorrow, the habiliments of mourning.*

'It is not our business as ministers of the gospel, to eulogize the dead; but when one of so well-known piety, and who has filled for so many years so elevated a station in the church of God with such truly apostolic dignity and success, falls asleep in Christ, it is the dictate both of reason and religion, and is due to his revered memory, to the community, to the cause of religion, and to our own souls, that so mournful an event, and so great and perfect an example as his life affords, should not be passed by in silence. And on this occasion it would be doing violence to our best feelings, and would seem unnatural and ungrateful to Him who raised up and so long continued his servant to bless this American Israel, if we were not to give vent to our emotions in some feeble expression of departed worth, as an acknowledgment of the greatness of our loss.

'Full of years and of honours, the venerable BISHOP has been gathered to his fathers, dying in peace and buried in a good old age, coming to his grave like as a shock of corn cometh in his season! He was the Patriarch whom the church delighted to honour, and the loss will be felt by the church through the length and breadth of our land, and will be lamented by all, although the event was long anticipated. No more will that venerable form preside in the assemblies of the church; no more shall we listen to his godly counsels; no more receive his apostolic benediction; no more be edified and encouraged by his holy *living* example!

'But, brethren, we may, and, I trust, will cherish the remembrance of his virtues. Fondly remembering his emi-

* These churches were hung with drapery of mourning on the occasion, as were the churches generally throughout the diocese, and probably in all the States.

nent services, and contemplating with admiration and gratitude his pure and apostolic character and piety, we may, and, I trust, will follow the good example he has set us, in which he has bequeathed to the church a rich legacy indeed. We may also cherish those principles which he ever inculcated from the word of God, and maintain in their purity and simplicity the holy institutions which, by the goodness of God, he was so eminently instrumental in establishing among us; and enjoying the blessings of these principles and institutions ourselves, may transmit them to our children and children's children.

'And where, brethren and friends, let me ask, where within the wide range of our acquaintance or observation, could I point you to a more illustrious example of scripture conformity, or to a brighter illustration of the christian pilgrimage? Where shall we look for one who has been more uniformly found in the way of righteousness, and whose whole course of almost ninety years, from his birth to his exit, has been more unexceptionable? As a man and as a christian, he was pre-eminently without reproach, his unsullied life exhibiting "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report." In all the relations of life respected and beloved, he was also the warm friend of his country, participating in her early trials and anxieties, and ever cherishing a spirit of true patriotism and generous philanthropy; but more than all, he was a faithful minister of the Lord Jesus. As a *good* Bishop, his name is imperishable. It is identified with the whole history of the church in this western world, by his agency in its establishment and his paternal superintendence to the present time.

'The thoughts of Bishop White, it seems from such means of information as have fallen under my observation, were

directed to the christian ministry at the early age of 14. In a letter not long since addressed to a respected clergyman in answer to inquiries, he says, "It may be recorded with truth, but let it be with humility, and with sorrow for innumerable failures, and for having fallen far short of what was due to the advantages enjoyed, that there is not recollected any portion of my life during which I was altogether regardless of the obligations of religion, or neglectful of the duty of prayer." It seems, too, that he attributed much to the early religious instructions received from his pious *mother!*

'Bishop White was born in Philadelphia, April 4, 1747. Having completed his collegiate education, at the University of Pennsylvania, at the age of 18, and then devoted several years to theology, he repaired to England in 1770, and was ordained deacon by Dr. Young, the Bishop of Norwich. After an interval of two years, he was ordained priest, by the Bishop of London, Dr. Terrick, who was at that time the diocesan of the American colonies; and embarked for Philadelphia, where he was soon settled as assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's, of which he became subsequently the Rector, continuing in that office to the day of his death. He was also Chaplain to the first American Congress, and sustained that relation to Congress for a long time. "At the close of the revolutionary war, when the members of our church were comparatively few in number, and, like sheep without a shepherd, scattered and dismayed, his energy was put forth to rally them to action, and to encourage them to the discharge of the important duties growing out of their new and critical situation." In 1786, he was elected Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, and was consecrated in 1787, in the Chapel of the Archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Archbishop of York, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Bishop of Peterborough. Conspicuous in all

the history of the Episcopal Church in these United States, all the Bishops who have been consecrated in this country, except the first and the last, Bishops Provost and M'Coskry, twenty-six in number, have been consecrated by him.—*Sixty-six years* he was a preacher of righteousness, and nearly half a century the senior Bishop of the American church.

'Long spared to bless the church and the world, his energies were wonderfully continued to the last. On the 21st of June, only five or six weeks since, he was present at a meeting of Bishops, and his counsels on that occasion, are represented as discovering great clearness and activity of mind. To that valuable periodical of our church, the "Protestant Episcopalian," he contributed, for the present month, an admirable article on the subject of "the wandering of the mind in prayer." On the last Sunday of the last month, he preached in St. Peter's Church, his text being, "*The word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart;*" and on the first of the present month, he attended a funeral, and visited, in a distant part of the city, a sick member of his congregation.

'A few days before his death, receiving the Holy Sacrament, he is said to have observed with emphasis,—"that it is an ordinance significant of all that is most essential in christianity, and expressed the devout hope that he might have grace to receive it with resignation, and to his spiritual profit."

'"It was astonishing," says one of the Bishops who was present, "to see in his great weakness of body, with what strength and fervour he engaged in the solemn service, and how perfectly his attention and interest were sustained

throughout. His manner was that of deep and seraphic devotion—following evidently through all the prayers, uniting distinctly in every sentence that was responsive, and most especially in the Confession, and in the *Gloria in Excelsis*, sealing every portion of the service with an emphatic *Amen*—and when the consecrated elements were delivered to him, insisting earnestly, until over-persuaded by those about him, that he would rise from the bed, which for several days he had not left, to receive them, as he was used to do, on his knees."

'On the evening succeeding, the Bishops of New-Jersey and Michigan being with him, "as the affectionate interest of the clergy led some one of them to be all the time,"* it was said to him by Bishop Doane, "I hope, Sir, that you feel no inconvenience from the effort you made in receiving the Holy Communion this afternoon." "Not the least," he replied, "not the least, but much comforted." It was then said to him, "It was a great pleasure, Sir, to be permitted once more to receive that blessed sacrament, which we have so often partaken, with you." "And a great pleasure to me to have you," he replied. "We feel, Sir," it was then observed, "that you are very sick, very sick indeed." "I can say nothing to the contrary of that," he replied. "We thought, Sir, that you might have something that you would wish to communicate, some message for the church, to which God has spared you so long. We should be glad to receive any word of counsel from you, and to bear it to our brethren." "I can only say," said the venerable man, "that I pray God's protection and blessing, that it may continue to have peace and prosperity, after my decease." "We trust, Sir, that you rely with entire confi-

* See the Right Rev. Bishop Doane's communication in the *Missionary*, from which this account of Bishop White's closing hours is collected.

dence on the promises of that blessed gospel which you have preached so many years"—"and," he interrupted, "which has hitherto *sustained* me." "And you submit yourself, Sir, wholly to God's gracious goodness, with a single and entire reliance for salvation on the merits of his Son, through faith in him?" "O entirely, entirely; I have no other wish, no other hope!" After a pause, the effort of speaking being very great, though he did not allow that he was fatigued by it, and was evidently consoled and animated by the conversation, "I should be glad," he said, "to express my feelings to you, in some of the Psalms and Hymns, but I cannot." "Perhaps you would like to hear some of them read." "I should." "Will you select one, Sir?" "No, I leave it to you." "But you have some favourite, Sir, which you would prefer." The 209th hymn was then named by him:—

> "Thou art the way—to thee alone
> From sin and death we flee;
> And he who would the Father seek,
> Must seek him, Lord, by thee," &c.

He said, "that beautiful hymn of Addison's has been a favourite with me all my life." He was asked if he meant that which begins,

> "When all thy mercies, O my God,
> My rising soul surveys,"

and he replying that it was, the whole of it was read. He followed it throughout with the motion of his lips, and when it was done, in reply to the remark, "How comfortable it must be to you, Sir, to realize thus the protecting care of God in life, in death, and beyond the grave," he said with a warmth of expression not usual with him, "O it is charming, it is charming!"

'"His last request, as became a christian believer," says Bishop Doane, "was for prayer to God. His last act, as became a christian Bishop, was the commendation of his soul to God in the offices of his church."

'It was apparent that a change had taken place, and a crisis was approaching—but "when he seemed at the lowest point of physical exhaustion, and his weeping family expected his immediate dissolution, he asked that prayers might be offered. A portion of the order for the Visitation of the Sick, was used, by the assistant minister of St. Peter's, humbly commending "the soul of this thy servant, our dear *Father*, into thy hands, as into the hands of a faithful Creator and most merciful Saviour." After this service, the saintly sufferer revived a little, and continued to recognize his brethren and friends who came about him, but there was no distinctive act subsequent to this.

'On the 17th of June, which was Sunday, the "sacred day whose solemn services for nearly seventy years had seldom failed to engage his voice in the several offices of the christian ministry," the day, on which he had long expressed the wish that he might be permitted to depart, "as the hour of noon approached, when the prayers of faithful thousands had but just gone up to heaven in intercession for him"—his last moments peaceful and serene, as had been his whole life—his intellect unimpaired to the last—and his piety bright like the perfect day,—he breathed no more, and his spirit took its flight to heaven!

'We all have been accustomed to look up to him with filial regard—strongly attached to his person, reposing the greatest confidence in his judgment, and always admiring "the sterling worth and primitive beauty of his character."

'Nor was this feeling of profound respect and admiration restricted to us of his own communion. All who knew

him, revered his character. He has been well described, "the divine of treasured wisdom, the minister of pure charity and dove-like simplicity, the citizen of approved patriotism and constant fidelity, the man of urbane manners, unruffled equanimity, and unsullied purity of life." His was pre-eminently a case in which "the hoary head is a crown of glory." Few persons have been so much honoured in life, and carried it so meekly—so beloved, and deserved it so well—or have been in death so extensively lamented.

'He is gone, and we shall see his face no more! A great and a good man has fallen in Israel! But while we lament the sad event, let us be truly thankful to Almighty God that he permitted us to enjoy the counsels and prayers and labours of his servant so long, and that in his death we have such consolation, and in all his long life such testimony in favour of our holy religion and so strong incentives to a holy walk. Let us be truly grateful that in the midst of affliction, we are dealt with in mercy, and that although we mourn the loss of our Patriarch, we have so great a blessing in his successor. Let our prayers also ascend to God, with whom is the residue of the Spirit, that the mantle of our departed Elijah may fall upon our Elisha, and that a double portion of the same spirit may be with him. And, following the good examples of those who follow Christ, in all virtuous and godly living, may we come at last to the same unspeakable joy, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

Another early and distinguished friend of colonization, was

ELIAS BOUDINOT CALDWELL, ESQ.

of Washington, first Secretary of the Society, present at its organization, and justly classed with Finley, Mills, and

Gen. Mercer, as one of the most efficient projectors and promoters of the institution. His christian principles and works are his best eulogium. The African Repository contains this notice of his death and tribute to his memory :—

"Having taken a very distinguished part in the formation of the Society, having carefully investigated its claims, and prepared himself for the obstacles which he saw to be inevitable in its progress, and especially having committed the cause to God, he was not disconcerted by misfortunes, nor discouraged by the calamities of its earliest history. He recollected that the events connected with the infancy of almost all colonies are analogous to those which have occurred in our own, and that they prove rather that experience is requisite to success, than that success is impossible. To no individual in the country was the colony more indebted for aid and success during the months of its greatest peril and distress ; and while his strength enabled him to act, none was more earnest in exertions for its prosperity. Often indeed did his zeal for others render him forgetful of himself, and his feeble frame feel the debilitating effects of excessive mental exertion. Near the conclusion of his life, the ordinary affairs of the world appeared to lose their power to affect him, and his faith fixed itself upon the things which are unseen and eternal. Perfection with God was the object of his supreme desire and highest hope. His anticipations of immortality, however, could not diminish his affection for the cause of humanity and of God on earth. A few days before his death, he addressed to a friend this note,

'THE LORD HATH GIVEN ME THE DESIRE OF MY HEART RESPECTING AFRICA. FAREWELL.

E. B. CALDWELL.'

Blessed is his memory, and great his reward."

The Board, desirous to perpetuate in Africa the name of

this benefactor of Liberia, directed that the name of CALDWELL be given to the first settlement or town established by the colony.

WILLIAM HENRY FITZHUGH, ESQ.

of Virginia, was a warm and early friend of the Liberia colony, and for several successive years one of the Vice-Presidents of the American Colonization Society, the value and importance of which institution he ably set forth in a series of essays under the signature of Opimus. Descended from two of the most ancient and respectable families of Virginia, and by education, talents, fortune, and character, peculiarly fitted for eminent usefulness, his death was lamented as a public loss; and in the general grief which it occasioned the American Colonization Society was called to bear a full share.

At the time of his death, Mr. Fitzhugh was employed in plans for bettering the moral condition of his slaves, with the hope of preparing them for a different sphere of action. His designs towards them are sufficiently indicated by his will, enjoining their freedom under certain conditions. He was called to fill an early, but honourable grave.

One who was intimately acquainted with him has said, "Mr. Fitzhugh was no ordinary man. His highly gifted and well-balanced mind, improved and polished by the best education, by self-discipline, and by constant intercourse with cultivated and refined society, controlled in its operations by sentiments just, honourable, magnanimous, rendered him a model of the virtues most admired in private and in public life. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, who have shared in the hospitalities of Ravensworth will bear testimony to the no-

bleness of his disposition, the urbanity of his manners, and to those attractive powers of conversation which drew around him, as by magic, a numerous circle of friends, who found that to know was to love him; and that every successive interview increased the strength of their attachment. As a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, of the Senate, and of the Convention, he filled the high expectation of his friends, and stood acknowledged by all an able, honourable, and eloquent statesman. While the reputation of Virginia was dear to his heart, while he cherished towards her character and her interest, even a filial affection, he looked abroad upon the Union with patriotic pride, and rejoiced in the honours and prospects of this glorious national republic. Nor were his desires for the improvement of mankind confined within the limits of his country. He was a philanthropist; and felt that human beings, whatever may be their country, circumstances, or complexion, were related to him by the ties of a common nature, and must not be excluded from his regards. * * His example survives him. And while friendship and affection shed their tears upon his grave; while honour, genius, patriotism, and philanthropy gather around it in silent grief, may his example, like an oracle from the abodes of the departed, give confidence and energy to virtue, and perpetuate its influence to relieve the miseries, and to improve and exalt the character of mankind."

We must notice one more who greatly served the interests of colonization in our own country,

THE HON. THOMAS SMITH GRIMKE,

of Charleston, S. C. By the death of this distinguished christian, scholar and civilian, in 1834, the Colonization Society was

deprived of one of its Vice-Presidents and efficient members, and the cause of Africa of a liberal and devoted friend. It has been well said of Mr. Grimke that he was no ordinary man, either in his intellectual or moral endowments. In the legal profession pre-eminent, a statesman of enlarged views and purity of motive, his patriotism a part of his piety, always aiming at the approbation of heaven, he was qualified for distinguished usefulness. His memory is blessed—his example lives.

Nor should we pass by unnoticed, besides the sainted Ashmun and Mills, the names of others who left their native land, aspiring to serve this good cause more effectually in Africa. We will mention, first,

The Rev. Lott Carey.

Among the names of those who have devoted themselves to the great work of founding a colony in Liberia, and who shared the cares and toils and privations consequent upon the first attempt, stands conspicuous that of the Rev. Lott Carey, for sometime the Vice-agent of the colony. Mr. Carey, as appears by an obituary of him in the 5th volume of the Repository, from which this tribute is chiefly quoted, was born a slave, near Richmond, Virginia. He was early hired out as a common labourer in that city, where, for some years, he remained, entirely regardless of religion, and much addicted to profane and vicious habits. Convinced of the misery of a sinful state, and brought to true repentance before God, in 1807 he professed faith in the Saviour, and became a member of the Baptist Church. His father was a

pious and much respected member of the same church, and his mother died giving evidence that she had relied for salvation upon the Son of God. He was their only child, and though he had no early instruction from books, the admonitions and prayers of his illiterate parents, it is supposed, laid the foundation for his future usefulness.

"A strong desire to be able to read was excited in his mind by a sermon to which he attended soon after his conversion, and which related to our Lord's interview with Nicodemus; and having obtained a Testament he commenced reading his letters, by trying to read the chapter in which this interview is recorded. He received some instruction, though he never attended a regular school. Such, however, was his diligence and perseverance that he overcame all obstacles, and acquired not only the art of reading, but of writing also. Shortly after the death of his first wife in 1813, he ransomed himself and two children for $850, a sum which he had obtained by his singular ability and fidelity in managing the concerns of a tobacco warehouse. Of the real value of his services there, it has been remarked, no one but a dealer in tobacco can form an idea. Notwithstanding the hundreds of hogsheads that were committed to his charge, he could produce any one the instant it was called for; and the shipments were made with promptness and correctness, such as no person, white or black, has equalled in the same situation. It is said that while employed at the warehouse, he often devoted his leisure time to reading, and that a gentleman on one occasion taking up a book which he had left for a few moments, found it to be 'Smith's Wealth of Nations.'

"As early as the year 1815, he began to feel a special interest in the cause of African Missions, and contributed probably more than any other person in giving origin and character to the African Missionary Society established during

that year in Richmond, and which, for many years collected and appropriated annually to the cause of christianity in Africa, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars. His benevolence was practical; and whenever and wherever good objects were to be effected, he was ready to lend his aid. He became a preacher several years before he left this country, and generally engaged in this service every Sabbath among the coloured people on plantations a few miles from Richmond.

"A correspondent, from whom we have already quoted, observes, 'In preaching, notwithstanding his grammatical inaccuracies, he was often truly eloquent. He had derived almost nothing from the schools, and his manner was, of course unpolished, but his ideas would sometimes burst upon you in their native solemnity, and awaken deeper feelings than the most polished but less original and inartificial discourse.' A distinguished minister of the Presbyterian church said to the writer, 'A sermon which I heard from Mr. Carey, shortly before he sailed for Africa, was the best extemporaneous sermon I ever heard. It contained more original and impressive thoughts, some of which are distinct in my memory, and never can be forgotten.'

"Mr. Carey was among the earliest emigrants to Africa. For some time before his departure he had sustained the office of Pastor of a Baptist Church of coloured persons in Richmond, embracing nearly eight hundred members, received from it a liberal support, and enjoyed its confidence and affection. When an intelligent minister of the same church inquired why he could determine to quit a station of so much comfort and usefulness, to encounter the dangers of an African climate, and hazard every thing to plant a colony on a distant heathen shore? his reply was to this effect, 'I am an African, and in this country, however meritorious my conduct and respectable my character, I cannot receive the credit

due to either. I wish to go to a country where I shall be estimated by my merits, not by my complexion; and I feel bound to labour for my suffering race.' He seemed to have imbibed the sentiment of Paul, and to have great heaviness and continual sorrow in his heart for his brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh.

"At the close of his farewell sermon in the First Baptist Meeting-house in Richmond, he remarked in substance as follows:—'I am about to leave you, and expect to see your faces no more. I long to preach to the poor Africans the way of life and salvation. I don't know what may befall me, whether I may find a grave in the ocean or among the savage men, or more savage wild beasts on the coast of Africa; nor am I anxious what may become of me. I feel it my duty to go; and I very much fear that many of those who preach the gospel in this country, will blush when the Saviour calls them to give an account of their labours in his cause, and tells them, 'I commanded you to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature;' (and with the most forcible emphasis he exclaimed) the Saviour may ask, Where have you been? what have you been doing? Have you endeavoured to the utmost of your ability to fulfil the commands I gave you, or have you sought your own gratification and your own ease regardless of my commands?'

"On his arrival in Africa he saw before him a wide and interesting field, demanding various and energetic talents, and the most devoted piety. His intellectual ability, firmness of purpose, unbending integrity, correct judgment, and disinterested benevolence, soon placed him in a conspicuous station, and gave him wide and commanding influence. Though naturally diffident and retiring, his worth was too evident to allow of his continuing in obscurity. It is well known that great difficulties were encountered in founding a settlement at Cape Montserado. So appalling were the cir-

cumstances of the first settlers, that soon after they had taken possession of the cape it was proposed that they should remove to Sierra Leone. The resolution of Mr. Carey was not to be shaken; he determined to stay, and his decision had great effect in persuading others to imitate his example. During the war with the native tribes, in November and December, 1822, he proved to be one of the bravest of men, and lent his well-directed and vigorous support to the measures of Mr. Ashmun during that memorable defence of the colony. It was to him that Mr. Ashmun was principally indebted for assistance in rallying the broken forces of the colony at a moment when fifteen hundred of the exasperated natives were rushing on to exterminate the settlement. In one of his letters he compares the little exposed company on Cape Montserado at that time, to the Jews, who, in rebuilding their city, 'grasped a weapon in one hand, while they laboured with the other,' but adds emphatically, 'there never has been an hour or a minute, no, not even when the balls were flying around my head, when I could wish myself again in America.'

"At this early period of the colony the emigrants were peculiarly exposed; the want of adequate medical attentions, and the scantiness of their supplies, subjected them to severe and complicated sufferings. To relieve, if possible, these sufferings, Mr. Carey availed himself of all information in his power, concerning the diseases of the climate, made liberal sacrifices of his property to assist the poor and distressed, and devoted his time almost exclusively to the destitute, the sick, and the afflicted. He appeared to realize the greatness of the work in which he had engaged, and to be animated by a noble spirit of zeal and resolution in the cause of his afflicted and perishing brethren. His services as physician were invaluable, and were for a long time rendered without hope of reward.

"He was elected in September 1826, to the Vice-agency of the colony, and discharged the duties of that important office until his death. In his good sense, moral worth, public spirit, courage, resolution, and decision, the colonial agent had perfect confidence. He knew that in times of difficulty or danger, reliance might be placed upon the energy and efficiency of Mr. Carey. When compelled in the early part of 1828 to leave the colony, Mr. Ashmun committed the administration of the colonial affairs into his hands.

"But amid his multiplied cares and efforts for the colony he never forgot or neglected to promote the objects of the African Missionary Society, for which he had long cherished the strongest attachment. His great object in emigrating to Africa was to extend the power and blessings of the christian religion. Before his departure from Richmond, a little church of about half a dozen members was formed by himself and those who were to accompany him. He became the pastor of this church in Africa, and saw its numbers greatly increased. Most earnestly did he seek access to the native tribes, and endeavour to instruct them in the doctrines and duties of that religion which in his own case had proved so powerful to purify, exalt, and save. In one or two instances of hopeful conversion from heathenism, he greatly rejoiced; and many of his latest and most anxious thoughts were directed to the establishment of native schools in the interior. One such school, distant seventy miles from Monrovia, and of great promise, was established through his agency about a year before his death, and patronized and superintended by him until that mournful event. On this subject, by his many valuable communications to the Missionary Board, 'he being dead yet speaketh' in language which must affect the heart of every true christian disciple.

"For six months after the first departure of Mr. Ashmun from the colony, Mr. Carey stood at its head, and conducted

himself with such energy and wisdom as to do honour to his previous reputation, and fix the seal upon his enviable fame. On his death bed, Mr. Ashmun urged that Mr. Carey should be permanently appointed to conduct the affairs of the colony, expressing his perfect confidence in his integrity and ability for that great work.

"The tidings of Mr. Ashmun's death had not reached the colony until after the decease of Mr. Carey. How unexpected, how interesting, how affecting the meeting of these two individuals, (so long united in christian fellowship, in benevolent and arduous labours,) in the world of glory and immortality!

"It has been well said of Mr. Carey, that 'he was one of nature's noblemen;' and had he possessed the advantages of education, few men of his age would have excelled him in knowledge or genius. The features and complexion of Mr. Carey were altogether African. He was diffident, and showed no disposition to push himself into notice. His words were few, simple, direct and appropriate. His conversation indicated rapidity and clearness of thought, and an ability to comprehend the great and variously-related principles of religion and government.

"To found a christian colony which might prove a blessed asylum to his degraded brethren in America and enlighten and regenerate Africa, was, in his view, an object with which no temporal good, not even life, could be compared. The strongest sympathies of his nature were excited in behalf of his unfortunate people, and the divine promise cheered and encouraged him in his labours for their improvement and salvation. A main pillar in the society and church of Liberia, the memorial of his worth shall never perish. It shall stand in clearer light when every chain is broken, and christianity shall have assumed her sway over the millions of Africa."

The following lines "to the memory" of Mr. Carey, ap-

peared in the African Repository soon after his death, from an anonymous correspondent, with the signature of V.—

"Shall none record the honour'd name
Of Afric's favour'd son,
Or twine the deathless wreath of fame
For him whose race is run?
While angels crown the saint above,
Has earth no voice to own her love?

Where'er the Patriot rests his head
A stately pile appears;
While warrior's sleep on glory's bed,
Beneath a nation's tears;
And shall no tribute rise to thee,
Thou fearless friend of liberty?

Yes, Afric's sunny skies have gleam'd
On many a scene sublime;
But more than hope has ever dream'd
Is destin'd for that clime.
The chain shall burst, the slave be free,
And millions bless thy memory.

Thy meed shall be a nation's love!
Thy praise, the freeman's song!
And in thy star-wreath'd home above
Thou may'st the theme prolong;
For hymns of praise from Afric's plains
Shall mingle with seraphic strains."

Dr. Richard Randall,

who generously proffered his services in the cause of colonization and of Africa, and to whom was therefore entrusted the honourable and responsible station made vacant by the

decease of the lamented Ashmun, was born at Annapolis, Md.; received his education at St. John's College, and took his degree as Doctor of Medicine in Philadelphia. From a sphere of great usefulness in his profession in Washington City, he was called to the Professorship of Chemistry in the Medical Department of Columbia College. He was also an able and efficient member of the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society. But his expansive benevolence and the warm interest which he took in the welfare of the Liberia colony, would not allow of his enjoying longer the flattering prospects which were before him in America. An intimate friend of Dr. Randall has said, "The magnitude of the object of the Colonization Society, the attained success, the illimitable prospects for usefulness which the scheme displayed, soon engaged the feelings of his generous and benevolent mind. * * He was a generous, kind, noble-hearted man." He once thought unfavourably of the Society, the colony, and its objects; but "his mind was enlightened," and he resolved to devote his best energies to the glorious cause. As a member of the Board of Managers at Washington, he was discriminating, judicious, resolute, and benevolent, and became so intimately acquainted with all that relates to the object of the cause, that great respect was due to his decisions. When Ashmun died, Dr. Randall was deeply affected, fully sensible of the shock which the institution had sustained. "The workings of his generous mind" could not long be concealed. He hesitated; but "his hesitation was the result of a diffidence of his own powers. Admonished of his danger, and implored by his friends to remain in the flattering career which he had commenced," his reply was decided, that "in doing his duty he disregarded his life—that with his feelings and purpose, he could readily exchange the endearing intercourse of relations, the alluring pleasures of refined society, the pro-

mised success of professional exertion, for the humble duty of promoting the happiness of the poor Negroes in Africa, and be HAPPY IN SO DOING."

Dr. Anderson.

John Wallace Anderson, M. D., of Montgomery county, Md., after an academic and collegiate education, entered on a course of study for the medical profession, and graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1823. Soon after being settled as a practising physician, he resolved that it was his duty to devote himself to the cause of African colonization, by serving, in his professional character, among the colonists of Liberia. He accordingly left behind him the attractions of a delightful home, and with that sentiment deep in his heart, which, when leaving this world, he directed should be inscribed on his tombstone, "Jesus, for thee I live, for thee I die," he committed himself to the direction of a wise and good Providence, and planted himself on the shores of Liberia. Useful in his profession, and distinguished by unremitting efforts to promote the best good of the infant colony, he was also called to the agency of the colony during the absence of Dr. Mechlin. His efforts laid him upon the bed of sickness; there, although he could no more serve the colony as he had been wont to do, his remaining breath was spent in fervent prayer for its success, until, in a few days from his attack, with entire resignation to the Divine will, and with unshaken and triumphant confidence in the glorious Saviour, he was called to pass the valley and shadow of death. One who was with him when he died, has remarked, "Well might I have said, when Dr. Anderson breathed his last, Come and see

how a christian can die." He is said to have evidenced "a remarkable devotion to the cause of God and man," and to have been possessed of "a spirit so mild, retiring, disinterested and unwavering, as at once to win the affections and deeply impress the heart" of all who became acquainted with him.

The Rev. Melville B. Cox

is another, whose name will go down to many generations as one of Africa's early and faithful friends. Mr. Cox went out to Liberia under the direction of the Methodist Missionary Society, "to promote the cause of christianity in Liberia, and among the African tribes in its vicinity." He is represented as a minister of great sincerity and zeal in the cause of Christ, and of distinguished abilities. In reference to his mission, he said before his departure, "I will have nothing to do with worldly gain in any form. If God permits me to go, it shall be to preach the gospel."—Devoted to this work of piety and mercy himself, he was greatly anxious to enlist the feelings of others. "I would," said he, "that our coloured friends felt on this subject as they should. * * When was there ever such a door opened? * * We cannot but feel on this subject. Africa calls us with millions of voices. She pleads in the strong wailings of suffering humanity. She speaks in the accents of dying spirits "perishing for lack of knowledge." Will not her sons in America hear? O that God would move their hearts to this work. Money and means are at their command—public sympathy is deeply enlisted in their favour. Will they still refuse? God pity them. And may he pity those who have sown the seeds of such deep-rooted prejudices against Liberia; and may he pity us who have

so long enslaved intellect as to have rendered it almost entirely insensible to moral and religious enterprise." Some friend of humanity, who also knew how to appreciate the worth of this excellent missionary now fallen a martyr to the interests of Africa, has embalmed his memory in these lines, entitled

THE GRAVE OF COX.

"From Niger's dubious billow,
From Gambia's silver wave,
Where rests, on death's cold pillow,
The tenant of the grave,
We hear a voice of weeping,
Like low-toned lutes at night,
In plaintive echoes sweeping
Up Mesurado's height.

The palm-tree o'er him waving,
The grass above his head,
The stream his clay-couch laving,
All—all proclaim him dead;
Dead! but alive in glory,
A conqueror at rest;
Embalmed in sacred story,
And crowned amidst the blest.

A martyr's grave encloses
His wearied frame at last,
Perfum'd with heaven's sweet roses,
On his dear bosom cast;
And Afric's sons deploring
Their champion laid low,
Like many waters roaring,
Unbosom all their wo.

The moon's lone chain of mountains,
The plain where Carthage stood,
Jugurtha's ancient fountains,
And Teembo's palmy wood,

Are wild with notes of sorrow,
Above their sainted friend,
To whom there comes no morrow,
But glory without end."

It is here worthy of remark that those who have gone forth as pioneers in the noble cause of colonization, have embraced in their number some of the choicest spirits of the age. The leaders in this enterprise of humanity, patriotism, and benevolence, have not been men of an inferior order of intellect, nor mere visionaries; but of first rate minds, of enlarged views, sound judgment, great discretion, humble and unwavering piety, persevering zeal, entire devotion to the cause of God and the best interests of man. If a different opinion has prevailed, as it may, in some instances, it must be through want of proper information, and proper pains to obtain it. It is a remarkable fact that they who have been most efficient in this good work, have so generally been those possessed of pre-eminent qualifications—men who would have shone bright and been greatly honoured remaining in their own native land, but whose piety and benevolence, manifest to all, led them to forego the flattering prospects before them here, that they might serve God and their generation on the shores of Africa.

Nor should this remark be wholly confined to those who as agents, sub-agents, physicians, or ministers of the gospel and missionaries of the cross, have gone forth in this good work. Among the colonists generally, has been an honourable share of all that is ennobling to humanity. As specimens of the views and feelings and qualifications of many, we may find much that is honourable in their own deeds, and in the testimony of the disinterested. Take, as a specimen of the noble spirit and good judgment of not a few,

the following extract of a letter from a free man of colour, then belonging in Georgia, who sought an asylum in Africa in 1831. It need not be said after reading the extract, that he was highly esteemed for his intelligence and piety where he then lived. He writes to the Secretary of the Colonization Society:

"I have always viewed the principle on which the Society was grounded, as one of much policy, though I saw it was aided by a great deal of benevolence. And when viewing my situation, with thousands of my coloured brethren in the United States, who are in a similar situation, I have often wondered what prevented us from rising and with one voice, saying, we will accept the offer made us at the risk of sacrificing all the comforts that our present situation can afford us. I have often almost come to the conclusion that I would make the sacrifice, and have only been prevented by the unfavourable accounts of the climate. I have always heretofore, viewed it as a matter of temporal interest, but now I view it spiritually. According to the accounts from Liberia, it wants help, and such as I trust I could give, though ever so little. I understand the branches of a wheelwright, and blacksmith, and carpenter; I also have good ideas of machinery and other branches. I trust also, were I to go there, I would add one to the number of advocates for religion. I will thank you to inform me what things I should take for the comfort of myself and family. I don't expect to go at the expense of the Society, and therefore hope to be allowed to take something more than those who do not defray their own expenses."

On looking over the pages that have preceded, the remembrance of other eminent friends of colonization among our

countrymen who have also been distinguished by their station, talents, acquirements, and virtue, admonishes us of many omissions: Among the departed might have been mentioned the names of Wirt, Crawford, Lowndes, Judge Workman, of Louisiana, who contributed to the Society's funds $10,000, and others; and among its surviving friends, (and long may they be spared to bless their country and the world,) might have been named, without distinction of party or locality, those bright lights of our land, Clay, Mercer, Webster, Frelinghuysen, Southard, Vroom, Cotton Smith, McLane, Porter, McKean, Everett, and others; but the limits assigned to this appendix forbid our pursuing this subject as the thoughts would lead.

We will advert next by acknowledgment to the fact that

COLONIZATION AND AFRICA HAVE FOUND GENEROUS FRIENDS AMONG THE FAIR SEX.

OUR fair country women, the author is happy to say, have not withheld the pleasing influence and encouragement of their good example and charities from this great and holy cause. Always ready to feel for the wretched, nor ever backward in efforts of benevolence when humanity calls, they have, in many instances, done themselves high honour by the aid which they have rendered to the cause of Africa and of colonization. Did the respect that is due to the retiring modesty of the sex not forbid it, it would be grateful to bear testimony to their disinterested benevolence, and record the names of not a few, who, though their good works and alms' deeds may not be heralded by the trump of earthly fame, have truly a record on high.

As an encouragement to others to "go, and do likewise," and as a just recognition of that moral influence which the ladies of our land, like ministering angels of love and mercy, may exert—often undervalued by themselves, but acknowledged by humanity and religion to be of unspeakable worth; reference may be here made to a few instances of untiring friendship and devotion to the cause, as communicated in a note by Elliott Cresson, Esq. in answer to an inquiry touching the extent of female benevolence in support of the free schools in Liberia. Omitting the names of individuals, and passing by some parts of the communication, Mr. Cresson writes as follows:—

"Colonization owes as much, perhaps, to female zeal and self-sacrificing devotion, as any benevolent enterprise of the age. In the infancy of the Society, when its friends were few and timid, and its enemies many and determined, the untiring efforts of Bishop M—— were most nobly seconded by his excellent sisters, the Misses M——, who contributed very largely from their own restricted means, eliciting by their example and personal exertions, the co-operation of their friends, and finally dedicated most of their property by will, to sustaining this holy cause. The sisters-in-law of that devoted friend of Africa have never ceased from the performance of deeds of kindness towards her oppressed children. This has been manifested by liberal and frequent donations, by unwearied care over the moral and religious culture of those entrusted to them by Providence, and recently, on the sailing of the first expedition for Bassa Cove, one of them, Mrs. P——, not only liberated fourteen choice slaves to aid the enterprise, and gave them an ample outfit, but generously added $500 to ensure them every thing necessary in their new home.

"These noble examples were not lost on their friend and neighbour, Miss B——, who, in addition to the liberation of

eleven slaves, (contributing nearly all her little property,) mortgaged the residue and raised $800, with which she purchased the freedom of the husbands of two of her women, who were held by persons in the vicinity. Nor was her strong affection for this degraded people stopped here. By devoting the proceeds of her needle, and the profits of her little dairy to their welfare, she has yearly increased the humble resources of the Society, and many a neighbour at her instance has pledged a head of young stock to the same purpose, so that at the year's end, the united tributes of these little rills have done much to swell the stream of benevolence. One sister, who recently died, made the freedom of a family now settled in Liberia, a parting request to her surviving relatives. Mrs. W——, of Mount Vernon, another sister, has lately sent an interesting and valuable family of slaves to Liberia, and at the same time made a handsome donation to the funds of the Pennsylvania Society, whose want of means alone prevented their fitting out another expedition to convey them and a number of other slaves now pressed upon the care of that Society by their benevolent owners, to Bassa Cove.

"Mrs. M——, Mrs. B——, and Mrs. C—— of Arlington, might be mentioned among many of the same circle, who have for years heroically devoted themselves to the task of instructing and evangelizing their own slaves, and those of their pious neighbours, and aiding in support of schools in Africa. Rarely have we listened to a more deeply interesting narrative than that of a clergyman recently on a visit in the South, who was present when the former of those ladies, now perfectly blind, on learning that her youngest and darling son was alone deterred from offering himself as a missionary for Africa by the fear that she would not bear the separation, called for her guide and waited on the

venerable senior Bishop of that diocese, to assure him that however severe was this test of her faith, she could not but cheerfully resign him for the performance of a service so holy.

"The name of Miss M—— M—— will descend to posterity as one of the illustrious of the age. Descended from one of the most ancient and distinguished families of the South, and brought up in the possession of all that wealth could bestow, this noble woman did not hesitate, on the death of her father, to liberate her own share of his slaves, together with such others as could be purchased; and sending the young, the active, and the vigorous, at her own cost, to Africa, she, one of the loveliest and most accomplished of her sex, converted the mansion of her ancestors into a boarding school, and has for years devoted herself to the arduous duties of superintending it, that she might discharge the debt thus incurred, and sustain the 'old and the worn out.' What a beautiful comment on the charge of our adversaries, that such only are the objects of the pretended benevolence of colonizationists! It has been the privilege of the writer of this faint tribute to female worth, to visit Cedar Park Seminary at the period of its annual fair, when hundreds of the surrounding gentry assemble to enjoy the charming scene presented by her fair charge, joyously displaying the fruits of the past year's industry, and devoting the proceeds of their skill and their taste to the cause of education in Liberia, by which they have already contributed upwards of $1100 toward the proposed college at Bassa Cove. The venerable mansion—the natural features of the scene, almost unparalleled for sylvan charms—the rich display of articles of utility and beauty—the happy and animated groups engaged in the duties of the day, were all highly attractive: but it must be confessed that all this was infinitely heightened, when, on approaching the white-headed little company of

merry old negroes assembled beneath the ample shade of the monarchs that had for centuries spread their giant arms athwart the verdant lawn, and asking some questions touching themselves and their absent descendants, they poured forth a torrent of blessings upon their 'good missis' for the benefits she had showered on 'them and theirs.'

"Who can forget the spirit-stirring lays of the sweet singer of the North, Mrs. S——, or her touching appeals for the dark-browed sons of Africa? To her discriminating judgment and patient care, do the earliest schools of Africa owe much for the selection and preparation of young coloured females who subsequently became eminently useful as teachers. Or who but must revere the admirable patron of those schools—the venerable Friend, B—— S——, of Philadelphia, who first planted and sustained them, and who has since presided over the Ladies' Liberia School Association, to which those schools gave rise, with untiring assiduity and liberality, until many hundreds of the offspring of Africa now rejoice in the privileges of a christian education?

"Many other bright names might be added to this hurried list of the early female friends of colonization; but having already exceeded the limits I had proposed for answering the query of yesterday, permit me to close with that of the widow of the revered Finley, who, on adverting to his love for Africa strong in death—added, "one son is now there, the other is on the banks of the Mississippi pleading her cause—and if I possessed twenty, I would gladly dedicate them all to the same holy cause."

In another portion of this work reference has been made to distinguished

Friends of the cause in England.

This reference might here be extended; but we will close our notice of those who have dedicated their time, their talents, their money, and their prayers to this great enterprise, with a beautiful tribute to the merits of colonization, from the pen of the late Jonathan Hutchinson, one who enjoyed in a remarkable degree the love and veneration of his fellow christians, and the respect of all who knew him. This extract is from testimony borne to the mission of one who visited England not long since to promote the views of the American Colonization Society.*

"After a serious and deliberate consideration of the plan exhibited by my friend —— ——, for educating, christianizing and instructing in the arts of civilized life, the emancipated slave; and thus preparing him as a fit instrument for conferring similar benefits upon his countrymen in Africa—on this review I am led to the conclusion that it is the most intelligible in theory, the most efficient in practice, and the least expensive of any proposition on this important subject, that has hitherto met my observation. Should this scheme of pure benevolence be so far able to surmount the difficulties attending its course, as to produce the full amount

* "Hannah Kilham, who was a member of the Society of Friends in England, and well known for her great benevolence and ardent piety, visited Liberia in 1832. She thus expresses herself in a letter written while in the colony: 'This colony altogether presents quite a new scene of combined African and American interest. I cannot but hope and trust, that it is the design of Infinite Goodness to prepare a home in this land for many who have been denied the full extent of privilege in the land of their birth; and that some, who are brought here but as a shelter and resource for themselves, may, through the visitation of heavenly goodness in their own minds, and the farther leadings of Divine love, become ministers of the glad tidings of the gospel, to many who are now living in darkness, and the shadow of death.'"

of good of which it appears capable, I think it will ultimately prove to have been one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed by a gracious Creator, through the instrumentality of man, upon suffering and degraded humanity. Under these impressions, I cannot but desire its success—and that every one, who with proper motives and qualifications, shall engage in the service of so noble a cause, may be aided by the sympathy and support of every friend of the human race; and that he may also be favoured in the prosecution of this great object, with assistance and protection from the universal Parent of the whole family of man, who is 'God over all, blessed for ever!'

"*Gedney*, 8*mo.* 13, 1832."

OBJECTIONS OF OPPOSERS.

COLONIZATION UNITES SOME OF CONFLICTING VIEWS.

It has been said by those that are opposed to the colonization scheme, that inasmuch as the Colonization Society has for its object simply the removal of the free people of colour, with their own consent, to Africa, and is supported in this enterprise "by one class of people for one reason, and by other classes for other reasons," the action of the Society "being suited to the views of all," it is liable to great and serious objections. On the other hand, the friends of colonization think that the singleness and simplicity of its aim, give it great and manifest advantages.

What though its aim being one, and steadily pursuing that one object, it finds favour from those of somewhat opposite views and in some respects conflicting interests;

must it therefore be abandoned? Let it be so, that some give it countenance whose philanthropy is questionable, whose piety has no existence, whose motives are sinister, still, if the object of the Society is good, and the end to be desired by the philanthropist, the patriot, and christian, ought we not rather to rejoice that the cause of benevolence and patriotism is promoted? "The presiding spirit, the life and soul of the institution has ever been, and ever must be, christian principle. The patriot and the statesman are deeply concerned in its success, and they cannot withhold their influence and co-operation; but it commends itself especially to the christian heart, for there it finds a chord that vibrates in unison with its noble design. The most active and efficient friends of the scheme have been those whom christianity claims as her own."*

*"The patrons of this enterprise doubtless contemplate its character through different mediums, and yield it their friendliness under the influence of different motives. So various are the objects which it is adapted and intended to accomplish, that one may regard it with favour for one reason, and another for a different reason, while each may feel that the aspect in which he views it, and the particular consideration which appeals effectively to his generous sympathy, are of sufficient importance to justify his unreserved co-operation. Hence, among the variety of reasons that secure the concurrence of its numerous friends, we find the foreign reason and the domestic—the Southern reason and the Northern—the political, the commercial and the religious reason.

"But, there is one patron of this enterprise, whose discerning eye contemplates it in every aspect, and whose candour appreciates all its designs and tendencies, and in whose bosom all these reasons are blended into one, and whose kindness hesitates not to express the cordial wish, and extend the liberal hand, and offer the fervent prayer for its enlarged success. Her name is Christianity. It is because the objects of this Society are good, that she approves them—and because they are both great and good, that she fosters them with her patronage. Contemplating the final removal from our country's escutcheon of a stain which is hourly growing deeper and broader and darker—and designing to alleviate the wretchedness of the free coloured population, and place them in circumstances favourable to their

OBJECTIONS CONTRADICTORY.

The opposers of colonization say that to advocate the scheme "on the ground of kindness to the people of colour, as a means of removing the free from prejudice which they cannot rise against here," which, say they, "is the motive with many, is to sacrifice at least two other objects—the missionary cause in Africa, and the extinction of slavery at home. For when we once admit the conclusion that the free people of colour cannot be elevated here to an equal enjoyment of the civil and social principles of our institutions, you cease to labour for it. Your philanthropy then aims at the removal of the whole body of the free coloured people. But the removal of such a body, so little improved by education and religion, to a heathen shore, cannot but be prejudicial to the spread of christianity there."

Again say they, "the effect of colonization is to fasten the bonds of the slave—for slave-holders avail themselves of the facilities which it affords, to drain off the excess of the free blacks, that they may oppress, with the greater safety, those who are still in bondage!" This last objection has been suggested, in substance, even by one to whose philanthropy and benevolence, few who know him, would hesitate to yield the tribute of their cheerful testimony, and the purity of whose motive it is confidently believed is above suspicion. He says of African colonization, "It is a question, whether it should be patronized, whilst American slavery endures. Is it right to induce a portion of the coloured people of this country to turn their backs on their

physical and moral improvement—and aiming at the elevation of the black to a platform parallel with the white man, she delights in its high purposes, for they are kindred to her own—and she would be recreant to her professions, did she not extend to it her cordial encouragement, and sanction it with her choicest benedictions."—*Rev. C. Stowe.*

brethren in bonds; to go to a returnless distance from them, and to enter upon the creation of new interests and attachments, which are calculated to efface the recollection of those left behind them? We must remember too, that this is the only portion of that unhappy population, which is at liberty to remonstrate against the cruelty and wickedness of oppression, and to plead for the exercise of mercy. Those for whom they are required to open their mouths, are not permitted to speak for themselves—and we must remember too, that amongst these dumb ones, whose cause we should thereby deprive of its most natural advocates, are, in innumerable instances, the fathers, mothers, children, brothers, sisters, of those whom we propose to carry away. Were we, our families, and neighbours, to be carried captive into a foreign land, and were you and I to be released from bondage, would it be natural and right in us to separate ourselves by thousands of miles and for ever, from our friends and kindred, still pining under the yoke of slavery? or would it not be a more humane and suitable use of our liberty to cleave to those beloved sufferers—to study the consolation of their aching hearts—and to be getting up every righteous appeal in their behalf to their guilty oppressors? I would not say, that there is in the consideration I here present, a fatal objection to the colonization scheme. There is certainly, however, enough in it to lead us to inquire whether we are clearly doing right, and as we would be done by, when we labour to induce our free people of colour to desert their enslaved brethren. There is certainly enough in it to excuse the following resolution, (of certain blacks,)—'*Resolved*, That we *never* will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population of our country. They are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering and of wrong; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than in enjoying fancied advantages for a season.'"

These objections are thus stated at some length, for candour requires it. But in reference to them, it may be proper to ask, whether the one objection does not in a good degree nullify the other? If the coloured people to whom the society would afford facilities for removing to Africa, are of such signal service at home, and so essential to their "brethren in bonds," might they not be greatly useful in Liberia? Or, is the avowed object of their detention to secure their increase, and to encourage their co-operation with the slave stimulated by the arguments and persuasions and flatteries of a portion of the whites, until fearful and bloody scenes shall be the result? It is believed by many that there is but one possible way in which, opposing colonization, the blacks can be led to expect that they shall expedite the abolishment of slavery in our land, or that they can be of essential benefit to their "brethren in bonds," by remaining here; and that is, by the system of compulsion which has been alluded to. For *how* will the free blacks "remonstrate with the holders of slaves?—*how* appeal in behalf of their enslaved brethren, to their guilty oppressors?" Will their remonstrances be suffered at the South?—will their appeals be listened to? Or are the blacks who are already free, to "remonstrate" indirectly, and to "appeal" indirectly, to those who are termed "guilty oppressors," through the influence of the people in the Northern States? Could the great majority of the non-slave-holding States be brought to be of one mind on the subject, and should they think and declare their conviction that it is the duty of the slave-holder to give immediate and universal freedom to his slaves, what can they do more? Violate the constitution? Amend it? Either attempt will be the certain signal for the dissolution of the Union, and perhaps for the flowing of rivers of blood. The South are evidently resolved to allow of no interference; and it is honestly believed by many that a much surer way

of bringing about unity of sentiment in relation to the course of the slave-holder, is to relieve all parts of our country as fast as possible from the evils which seem inseparable from the presence of a degraded population of the coloured free. But why, again it is asked, why the solemn remonstrance against aiding the emigration of such free blacks as desire to settle in Liberia, on the ground that their "appeals" and "remonstrances" are needed at home, and that it would be a great dereliction of duty in them, "to turn their backs on their brethren in bonds?" Whether the *resolution* referred to would ever have emanated unsolicited from any portion of the coloured people themselves, is a question concerning which some have expressed doubts; and how far such a resolution, and the declaration and use of it as above, is politic and calculated to benefit either the slave or the free, or conciliate feelings supposed to be adverse to the interests of both, admits also of doubt.

COLONIZATION WILL ADVANCE CHRISTIANITY.

As to this first objection—it is declared by the friends of colonization that they never designed to remove to Liberia such as forbid the hope of their becoming good citizens of the colony. Moreover, when the humane, encouraged by the door which colonization opens for them to better the condition of their slaves, have resolved on their emancipation, there has usually been an effort preparatory, to qualify them for the new station which they are to occupy. Besides, not only is great pains taken by the Society in respect to the morals of those sent to the colony, and great encouragement given by the Society to the slave-holder to emancipate his slaves, and prepare them for freedom; but it is a fact well understood, that those freed blacks who are here

without sufficient incentive to manly effort, and without the means or opportunity to rise, are inspired with new life when placed in a situation which furnishes greater motive to energy and virtue.

Circumstances have great influence in forming the character. "The early circumstances of the people of New-England," says the Repository of 1831, "rendered them proverbially enterprising; and we recently heard a foreigner remark, that England had hardly made a single invention in the mechanic arts, which has not already been improved upon in the United States. National, like individual character, is often elevated and strengthened by circumstances; and no one can doubt that many causes that can never be realized here, will operate in Africa to develope the talents, invigorate the faculties, and dignify the purposes of the people of colour."

Nationality is indispensable to the proper elevation of any people, and the full development of the human intellect.*

* Dr. Beecher has well remarked, that "There is no such thing as raising the human mind without nationality. You must have the whole machinery of society, or you never will do it. That is the reason the Indians cannot be civilized. It is a slander to say that there is any thing in the Indian mind to prevent it. They are not improved, because you cannot bring upon them the motives for improvement. They have no national existence to bring out their powers. I mourn over their condition; and sure I am, that if they could have one state where their mind would have a fair field to show itself, it would develope as great and noble traits as ever distinguished humanity. I never knew human nature in a state of barbarism where it exhibited such features as it does among our American Indians. As to the poor African, he never can rise without space to move in, and motives to action. If you refuse to remove him, you will have an equal number of paupers thrown upon your shores, and then you must support both. The ways of God are high and dreadful. He takes the wickedest of men and causes them to accomplish his own purpose. Their hearts think not so,

How many, who, had they remained here, would have been hewers of wood and drawers of water, undistinguished either for their enterprise, or any virtue, are achieving for themselves and descendants, great honour in Liberia?* The instances are not a few, and the facts are irresistible. And whilst they have done well both for themselves and posterity, by removal, it is also said in truth, "The elevated religious character of the colonists, their serious observance of the Sabbath, their strict integrity in commercial intercourse, and their habitual propriety of conduct, have secured the respect of the *natives*, and placed matters in such an attitude, that any efforts to promote their temporal and eternal welfare would be kindly received and abundantly successful."

Is the colony of Liberia such as "cannot but be prejudi-

neither do they mean so; but in their wickedness they do that which God blesses and overrules for good. The coast of Africa has been environed with dangers. It is almost inaccessible to the approach of the white man, and that whole continent has yet to be civilized and christianized; and how is it to be done? God has permitted what has come to pass. He has suffered its inhabitants to be brought here as slaves, and the transposition has scarcely increased their miseries. God is not in a hurry in accomplishing his designs; and by bringing them into a christian land, he has prepared the way for their being thrown back in a christianized condition on their native shore. I believe that colonization is destined to stop the slave-trade. Your colonies will stand like a chain of light from point to point along the whole dark coast of benighted Africa, and from the colonies will your missionaries go into the interior, until they shall have spread a belt of salvation over that benighted portion of the globe."

* "It would be very difficult to point to any part of the world where new colonists are not, both intellectually and morally, superior to the people in the old country from whom they sprang. Especially is this the case where any pains have been taken to extend to the new settlement the means of moral and intellectual improvement. The colony in New South Wales, composed to a great extent of the most degraded class of the British people, of men and women condemned to transportation for their crimes, is now an industrious, moral, and flourishing community, and bids fair to become the nucleus of a great and respectable nation. New colonies, from the nature of the case, are favourable to the improvement of character."—*Repository*.

cial to the spread of christianity? It is not the testimony of one alone, as given above; but credible witnesses who have been at the colony, and seen for themselves, and were competent to form a correct and unprejudiced opinion, declare that a more moral community cannot be found together in any part of our own highly favoured country! That a good christian influence has been exerted by the colony, facts that call for gratitude to heaven, and that powerfully urge the claims of colonization upon our benevolence, fully attest. By the removal of the free blacks, they, as a whole, and their posterity, are blessed; at the same time, Africa is blessed, and our own country is benefitted. The influence of the example of the colony upon the surrounding heathen, although that example may not be perfect, is good; facilities are afforded by the colony to missionary effort which, without the colony, could not be enjoyed, and without which facilities in the then present state of Africa, every effort would be comparatively hopeless; the slave-trade is interrupted, and will finally be utterly broken up; and Africa is being restored to respectability and happiness, that she may rise from the dust, and her once enslaved children and their descendants may obtain a name and a place among the nations of the earth.*

* It would be easy here to multiply instances showing the rapid deterioration, generally, of slaves, as respects morality, industry, and all virtue, when freed without the stimulus which a new location, where are encouraging prospects of due elevation, gives. We will refer to an instance or two.

Said William Ladd, Esq., of Maine, in an address before the Massachusetts Colonization Society, in 1833, in support of a resolution 'that the American Colonization Society merits the confidence and patronage of all who are opposed, on principle, to slavery,' "Many years ago I loaded a ship in Savannah, and had for my stevedore, one Joe Blog. He was one of the smartest and most faithful men I ever employed. I gave his master a dollar a day for him, and gave Joe privately half a dollar a day beside. Joe was active, sleek, well-dressed, and sprightly. *Joe was a slave.* Some years after I returned to the same port, and sought out my old friend Joe, and employed

In reference to the other objection—that colonization perpetuates slavery, we may also appeal to facts. Mr. M. Carey has said truly, that "Among the most promising and encouraging circumstances attending the career of this Society, are the numerous manumissions that have taken place in almost all the slave-states, on the express condition of the freed people being sent to Liberia. These manumissions have occurred on a scale that the most sanguine friends of

him.—He was idle, restless, ragged, and lazy, and I soon dismissed him. *Joe was free.* And as far as my observation has extended, and I have lived long in slave countries, this is a fair sample of the liberated slaves, though there are noble exceptions. But I consider it more their misfortune than their fault. With no other incentive to labour than the fear of the lash, uneducated and ignorant, what better can we expect?"

The illustrious Madison, in a letter to a gentleman, published just before his decease, says, "You express a wish to obtain information in relation to the history of the emancipated people of colour in Prince Edward. I presume those emancipated by the late Richard Randolph more especially. More than twenty-five years ago, I think, they were liberated, at which time they numbered about 100, and were settled on small parcels of land of ten to twenty-five acres to each family. As long as the habits of industry which they had acquired while slaves, lasted, they continued to increase in numbers, and lived in some degree of comfort,—but as soon as this was lost, and most of those who had been many years in slavery, either died or became old and infirm, and a new race raised in idleness and vice sprang up, they began not only to be idle and vicious, but to diminish instead of increasing, and have continued to diminish in numbers very regularly every year—and that too, without emigration; for they have almost without exception, remained together, in the same situation as at first placed, to this day.

"Idleness, poverty, and dissipation are the agents which continue to diminish their numbers, and to render them wretched in the extreme, as well as a great pest and heavy tax upon the neighbourhood in which they live. There is so little of industry and so much dissipation among them, that it is impossible that the females can rear their families of children—and the consequence is, that they prostitute themselves, and consequently have few children—and the operations of time, profligacy, and disease, more than keep pace with any increase among them. While they are a very great pest and heavy tax upon the community, it is most obvious they themselves are infinitely worsted by the exchange from slavery to liberty—if, indeed, their condition deserve that name."

the scheme could not have anticipated. Entire families have been blest with their freedom, from the most pure motives, a conviction of the immorality and injustice of slavery—and in many cases ample provision has been made for the expense of their passage, and in some, for their support in Liberia. They have been thus released from the debasement and degradation of slavery, and sent to the land of their fathers, to partake of all the happiness that freedom and the certainty of enjoying all the fruits of their labour, can inspire."

COLONIZATION PROMOTES EMANCIPATION.

It would be impracticable here to enumerate all the cases that have transpired in which the opening at Liberia has been an inducement to the liberation of slaves. The facts which Mr. Carey collected and published in his letters, and those additional instances which have fallen under notice recently, cannot all be mentioned here. But a few instances may be given as specimens, to show the good influence of the society in encouraging emancipation, and to show the encouragement which is given to the Society to persevere and abound in its great and benevolent work.

Col. Smith, an old revolutionary officer, of Sussex county, Va., ordered in his will, that all his slaves, seventy or eighty in number, should be emancipated; and bequeathed above $5,000 to defray the expense of transporting them to Liberia. Patsey Morris, of Louisa county, Va., directed by will, that all her slaves, sixteen in number, should be emancipated, and left $500 to fit them out, and defray the expense of their passage. Dr. Bradley, of Georgia, left forty-nine slaves free, on condition of their removal to Liberia. Mrs. Elizabeth Morris, of Bourbon co. Va., provided by will for

the emancipation of her slaves, about forty in number. David Patterson, of Orange co. N. C., freed eleven slaves, to be sent to Liberia. A gentleman in N. C. last year, gave freedom to all his slaves, fourteen in number, and provided $20 each, to pay their passage to Liberia. Wm. Fitzhugh, bequeathed their freedom to all his slaves, after a certain fixed period, and ordered that their expenses should be paid to whatsoever place they should think proper to go. And, "as an encouragement to them to emigrate to the American colony on the coast of Africa, where," adds the will, "I believe their happiness will be more permanently secured, I desire no only that the expenses of their emigration be paid, but that the sum of fifty dollars be paid to each one so emigrating, on his or her arrival in Africa." David Shriver, of Frederic co. Md., ordered by his will, that all his slaves, thirty in number, should be emancipated, and that proper provision should be made for the comfortable support of the infirm and aged, and for the instruction of the young in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and in some art or trade, by which they might acquire the means of support. Rev. Robert Cox, Suffolk co. Va., provided by his will for the emancipation of all his slaves, upwards of thirty, and left several hundred dollars to pay their passage to Liberia. A lady, near Charlestown, Va. liberated all her slaves, ten in number, to be sent to Liberia; and moreover purchased two, whose families were among her slaves. For the one she gave $450, and for the other $350. Herbert B. Elder, of Petersburg, Va. bequeathed their freedom to all his slaves, twenty in number, with directions that they should be conveyed to Liberia, by the first opportunity. Mrs. J. of Mercer co. Kentucky, and her two sons, one a clergyman, and the other a physician, offered the Colonization Society sixty slaves, to be conveyed to Liberia. Rev. Fletcher Andrew, gave freedom to twenty, who constituted most of his pro-

perty, for the same purpose. Nathaniel Crenshaw, near Richmond, liberated sixty slaves, with a view to have them sent to Liberia. Mr. Isaac Ross, of Mississippi, an officer in the war of the revolution, more recently left all his slaves, 170 in number, on the following conditions, viz: that after the death of his daughter, (now a widow,) the slaves who may be over twenty-one years of age shall decide whether they will remain in bondage or go to Africa. *If they determine to go to Africa, all the property is to be sold, and the proceeds, together with the proceeds of the crops till that time,* (12,000 or 15,000 dollars excepted,) *are to be expended in their transportation and comfortable settlement in the colony of Liberia, and the establishment of an institution of learning in some part of the colony.* If they determine not to go, they and all the estate is to be sold, and the proceeds applied to the endowment of the *aforesaid institution of learning.* A gentleman of Louisiana, not long since, left thirty to go to Liberia, and directed his executors to pay their passage—an outfit of tools, implements of husbandry, provisions and clothes for one year, and to two of them he gave $500 each. Another, from the same State, left thirty, making similar provisions for their removal to Africa, and for their comfort after their arrival. In Virginia, recently, one has manumitted twenty-three, another fifty, another sixteen, and a fourth twenty-five; and many others with similar and smaller numbers. But all were manumitted on condition of their going to Africa. In Tennessee, many examples similar to the above have been given during the past year. One man liberated twenty-three, and another twenty-one, supplying them with ample funds, and also providing clothing for them, and furnishing them with suitable tools, and for paying the expense of their removal to Africa. Her legislature has promised to give $10 toward defraying the expenses of each one who shall go to Liberia.

The excellent example of Mr. Turpin, who some time since emancipated all his slaves in South Carolina, and gave them his estate valued at $329,000, is worthy of constant remembrance and imitation. Eighteen were liberated by Mrs. Greenfield, near Natchez, on the condition that they should go to Africa; and on the same condition E. B. Randolph, of Columbus, liberated twenty; Wm. Foster, Esq. twenty-one; another twenty-eight; a gentleman in Kentucky, sixty; a lady in the same State, forty; all for the most part young, and all, with very few exceptions, under forty years of age. The Society of Friends in North Carolina had liberated, in 1835, no less than 652.

Numerous applications are constantly before the Society, or its auxiliaries, for assistance in emigrating to Africa. A large number of slaves are, by the decision of their masters, free in prospect, and in a course of preparation for liberty; whilst others will be free the moment they can find a passage to Liberia.

It is an unquestionable fact, well worthy of consideration, that the fewer slaves there are in any section of country, the more easy is it to emancipate; and the stronger becomes the tendency to emancipation. The same remark may apply to the absence of a free coloured population in slave-holding districts. It is not easy to emancipate the slave whilst, by so doing, you will in all probability increase the dangers that threaten society, and swell the number of those whose freedom seems to be a curse. Besides, as instances are multiplied, those who emancipate their slaves, become a standing monument, in the midst of a slave-holding community "of the triumph of christian principle over selfish interest—a constant, living reproof to all who still retain their fellow-men in bondage."*

* Much has been said in reference to emancipation, of a *mental renunciation* of the right of property in slaves, "a renunciation which the law

If colonization were abandoned, many christian slave-holders, who desire to emancipate their slaves, would be deprived of the power of doing so, the laws of the slave-holding States generally prohibiting emancipation unless the slaves are removed from the State. True, it may be said, "these are wicked laws;" and the sincerity of such slave-holders may be treated with discredit, and affected contempt and ridicule may assail them in the place of kind remonstrance and argument—as in the following instance, taken from an immediate abolition periodical:—

"—— But are you not aware, Sir, that in many States there are laws against emancipation?" This was uttered with a most imposing air by a man who was defending slavery under the *present circumstances*. "Indeed," replied his opponent, "but who make the laws?" "The slave-holders, to be sure." "So I thought; and the unfortunate condition of the poor slave-holders, who have tied their own hands by such laws, reminds me of an anecdote. A lady somewhere in Virginia, on going out for a few hours, left some trifling matters to be attended to in her absence, by her little daughter. On her return, she found that all the things which were to be done, had been neglected.—'How is this, my dear,' said she, 'why have you not done this, and why not that?' 'Because I could'nt mamma.' 'But why could'nt you?' 'Why, don't you see, mamma, I am *tied* to the leg of the table?' 'Indeed, so you are, but who

would treat as a nullity, and which might be mentally retracted, at any moment, without the knowledge of the community." One instance, in the midst of the slave-holding States, of bona fide emancipation, evidenced by self-denying exertions to locate the emancipated in a land where they may be truly free and blessed, will, it is conscientiously believed, have more force in freeing others, than a hundred auxiliaries at the North, or tens of thousands of speeches and resolves which never reach the eye or ear of a single slave-holder, or if they do, serve only to irritate the slave-holder, and shut up every avenue to conviction.

tied you to the leg of the table, my dear?' '*Oh, I tied myself, mamma!!*'"

This anecdote, quite amusing in itself, whether founded in fact or supposed, is in its application, to say the least, unfair and sophistical. It supposes that those slave-holders who find the laws an impediment in the way of emancipation, are the identical majority of the several States, which majority has enacted those laws; this, it is well known, is not the fact—and unless it be so, how is the comparison just, or otherwise than unkind and insulting to the benevolent and christian feelings of those who, seeking the best interests of the coloured race, are desirous of giving freedom to their slaves?* Besides, it is possible, not only for

*"In the year 1770, the Friends in the United States declared slavery to be inconsistent with the principles of christianity, and prohibited it among the members of their body. The Friends of the Yearly Meeting of North Carolina, including a part of Tennessee and Virginia, amounting to 7 or 800,000, petitioned the Legislature of North Carolina, for permission to emancipate their slaves. It was refused. They continued to press the subject with petition after petition for *forty years*, and with no better success. They, at length, without law, emancipated their slaves upon the soil; and what was the consequence? More than one hundred of those emancipated slaves were taken up, and sold into perpetual and hopeless bondage, under the laws of the State. Emancipation on the soil was plainly impossible in the existing state of public feeling. After various expedients, and having expended in ten years more than $20,000 in procuring asylums for their slaves in the free States, the free States made enactments preventing this intrusion of free blacks upon them. Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, and New-York were applied to in vain, the door was shut. Some years since, they embarked one hundred of their liberated slaves for Pennsylvania. They were refused a landing in the State. They went over to New-Jersey. The same refusal met them there. They were then left to float up and down the Delaware river without a spot of dry land to set their feet upon, till the Colonization Society took them up and gave them a resting place in Liberia.

"They have now five hundred slaves left, whom they are anxious to liberate; and what shall they do? Get the laws of the State altered? They laboured after that for forty years, and more than one whole generation of

individuals who can have but little influence in legislation, but even for the *majority*, even for a whole people, without an individual exception, to propose, and enact, and continue, and support such laws, without being liable to the inconsistency and reproach which is intended in the above comparison. Laws are designed for the general good; and if it be not safe for the community at large; and not generous and truly kind, but greatly injurious to the slaves at large, to emancipate them universally and immediately—laws for the preservation of the slave, and the protection of the commonwealth, are necessary and unavoidable; and by those laws *all* good citizens must be governed, without exception. Every good citizen in that case is "tied," not by himself, but by invincible necessity—the peculiar circumstances of the case which render such laws necessary both as an act of humanity toward the slave, and of sacred regard to the common weal.*

black men died in bondage while their masters were striving to effectuate *immediate emancipation*. IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION they found to be *so slow a process* that they were obliged to resort to COLONIZATION, in order that something might be done *immediately*. And in such instances, what possible mode of *immediate relief* is there except colonization? Shall they resist the laws of the State? This would be contrary to the principles of Quakerism: and on this point at least, the unlawfulness of aggressive resistance even to legalized oppression, the wrongfulness of destroying human life for the attainment of any political purpose—on this point I must conceive that Quakerism is christianity."—*Prof. Stowe.*

* "Though every virtuous man will aim to promote that state of society which secures freedom and equal rights to every member of the community, and though of the possibility of such a state under the influences of civilization and christianity, we ought not to despair, yet it is unquestionable that individual freedom and individual happiness should ever be considered subordinate to the public good. *It is not right that men should be free when their freedom will prove injurious to themselves and others.* Hence, in all enlightened communities, the restraints upon minors, and upon all who are found incapable of judging and acting for themselves."—*Repository.*

[NOTE. *See page* 222.]

A DELIGHTFUL CLIMATE FOR THE BLACKS.

"There seems to be a peculiar fitness in placing the Negro in Africa, when it is recollected that large portions of its immense tracts are suited only to *his* constitution. The white man will languish and die beneath a sun which is congenial to the nature of the black man. Nature herself, therefore, would seem to concur with philanthropy, unless it be thought that she designed those regions, which are so well calculated for the residence of the latter, and for him only, to lie waste and uninhabited."—*Tyson.*

"If we look to that well-marked and vast peninsula, we find that equally marked race, the Negro, with slight modifications, forming its native population throughout all its regions. We find the temperature of his blood, the chemical action of his skin, the very texture of his wool hair, all fitting him for the vertical sun of Africa; and if every surviving African of the present day who is living in degradation and destitution in other lands, for which he was never intended, was actually restored to the peculiar land of his peculiar race, in independence and comfort, would any man venture to affirm, that christianity has been lost sight of by all who had in any ways contributed to such a consummation? It matters not to brotherly love on which side of the Atlantic the Negro is made enlightened, virtuous, and happy, if he is actually so far blessed; but it *does* matter on which side of the ocean you place him, when there is ONLY ONE WHERE HE WILL BE HAPPY AND RESPECTABLE as benevolence would wish to see him, and certainly *there*, a rightly applied morality and religion would sanction his being placed."—*Edinburgh Phrenological Journal.*

[NOTE. *See page* 294.]

GROWTH OF THE COLONY.

The slow increase of a colony at its commencement is the dictate of prudence. "The French colony at Cayenne was

begun, as that nation expresses it, on a grand scale ; 12,000 settlers embarked, and almost all perished. A few people form the best germ for a colony. Double or treble their numbers every year, and you will see them thrive. Pour in a larger population than can be provided for, and the whole must perish. In this, nature points out our course : the shoot from an acorn rises at first slowly ; but as it acquires strength it gains beyond conception, at every annual ring, till the insignificant fruit of one short season sees numerous generations enjoy its ample shade."—*Repository.*

[Note. *See page* 207.]

CORRECTION.

The Author finds, since the Conversations upon the religious privileges of Liberia, that St. James' Church, at Monrovia, has ceased to be. Without a spiritual guide, the congregation, which was respectable for numbers, has become dispersed, amalgamating through necessity with other denominations. The last report from that church, previous to its evaporation, was 68 baptisms and 30 additional applications—besides applications from one of the other principal settlements for the services of the church there. It is to be hoped that the church may yet be resuscitated under a competent teacher and its branches be multiplied.

ERRATA.

On 16th page, 5th line from the bottom, read ' did *not* know.'
" 58th page, 16th line from the bottom, for " Bornon," read '*Bornou*'
" 79th page, subject line at the top, for " diligent," read '*vigilant.*'
" 105th page, 11th line from the top, for " determined in," read 'determined *on* their extinction.'
" 127th page, 11th line from the top, for " 1807," read '1787.'
" 303d page, 7th line from the top, for " cypressi," read '*cupressi.*'